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The Philosophy of Civilization

By

R. H. Towner

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

In Two Volumes

Volume Two

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CHAPTER XIII

DRINK

151. Mortals find alcoholic beverage potable, toxic, narcotic and anti-septic; palatable, digestible, tempting. It is simply and easily made from those foods which contain sugar, or starch convertible into sugar; but, unlike these foods, it is not quickly perishable but keeps and improves with care and age. It supplies to the human body elements otherwise obtained by assimilation from such foods, and its manufacture absorbs, and reduces to a small, portable, and enduring mass, the annual produce of large areas devoted to their cultivation. The body consumes or disposes of it as received, its effects are transient, surfeit soon passes, and drinking tends to become a daily habit like eating. Its use may become habitual, not only with an individual but among a group. Such a combination of qualities and effects is unique. Nothing else in human annals has equalled the discovery of wine.[1] The effects of its use may be observed both physically and psychically, on the individual and on the group; and in the sum of these effects the operation of each factor may be observed, and its influence duly noted.

152. Because it is potable, alcoholic beverage affects a group no less than a mortal. There is a general distinction

[1] Besides denoting the fermented juice of the grape, the word "wine" includes also the fermentation of various cereals:—barley, rice, millet, etc.,—used as an intoxicant by mankind from time immemorial. It is here used in its generic sense.

between a poison and an intoxicant; the action of the former is concentrated on an individual, whom it kills; the action of the latter may be diffused throughout a group. On a mortal, the effect of a poison is permanent, of an intoxicant transient; on a group the effects of a poison are transient, of an intoxicant permanent. This distinction is most easily illustrated by the difference between wood alcohol, which is a poison, and potable alcohol which is an intoxicant. The former kills the individual and is without effect upon the group; the latter intoxicates the individual but sobers the group which becomes accustomed to its use. Accordingly, neither individuals nor groups have ever become habituated to the use of wood alcohol, but there are many individuals, and very large groups which have become habituated to the use of wine, and these groups have continued its use through many centuries of time. The effect of alcoholic beverage on groups habituated to its use, may be studied, and the influence of potable alcohol as a factor in the life of these groups may be learned from history.

153. Because it is an intoxicant, potable alcohol continuously exercises the bodily functions in throwing off its toxic effects. Hence its stimulating effect, augmenting the action of the heart, and raising the bodily temperature. When first introduced to a group unaccustomed to its use, its toxic effects are extremely severe, deadly to many individuals and perhaps or nearly deadly to the group at large. It is most intoxicating, as would be expected, when a civilized group, long accustomed to it, introduces some form of alcoholic beverage to a savage group wholly unaccustomed to it. The different effects exercised by the same alcoholic beverage on the two groups are in striking contrast. The civilized group, long accustomed to it, continues to advance, triumphs over alcoholic temptation and over the savage group, while the latter, newly tempted, succumbs to alcoholic temptation, surrenders to their civilized and drinking conquerors, declines and sometimes even disappears. This permanent advantage has been

gained for the civilized group because alcoholic temptation was introduced slowly, and early in its history, spread gradually from generation to generation and from class to class, and, finally, exhibits its permanent effects in a general physical mastery of an intoxicant, so that it rarely kills even the individual, and never kills nor even impairs the strength of the group. It is thus that the use of wine in vine growing countries perpetually imparts strength to posterity so that after many generations the physical stamina of the inhabitants is superior to its toxic effects. All their organs of alimentation have, through the selective influence of generations, been built up to a standard which suffices not only for the assimilation of food, but also for the resistance to an intoxicant. The alimentary organs of neighboring non-drinking savages, which have not been inured to intoxicants, are far inferior.

154. Because it is anti-septic alcoholic beverage aids mortals in their resistance to poison. Many of the bacillæ which infest spoiled food, and continuously threaten the alimentary canal, are unable to withstand even a small quantity of alcohol. It tends to arrest putrefaction and to destroy or counteract ptomaine poisons; it kills the germ of typhoid fever; and it is efficacious against many other varieties of sepsis. Its value in this respect, to the inhabitants of vast areas of the globe, including the entire zone where civilization arose, cannot be over-stated. In all this zone, refrigeration was anciently unknown, and is still available only to a rich and tiny minority of the inhabitants; the summer heats of this region quickly change a freshly killed animal from a wholesome food to a deadly poison, and cooking does not prevent the change nor destroy the poison. It would be difficult, even with the greatest vigilance, for any mortal to pass the span of a lifetime in such countries without sometimes being exposed by accident or emergency to poison thus created. Wine has ever been the most common, the most useful and the most reliable prophylactic against such poisons; and it may be truly said that, except for wine,

the inhabitants of this region would be denied the use of fresh meat.

155. Because it is made from foods, alcoholic beverage extends the area of tillage of all drinking groups. Enough land must be tilled to supply food and drink instead of food alone. And as drink becomes a habit, universally and perennially indulged, it annually consumes a large part of the annual produce of the fields. Drinking, therefore, creates and maintains an elastic margin of cultivation against the menace of starvation. Non-drinking peoples, if they have advanced to the stage of permanent agriculture, will normally till only so much land as suffices to feed the normal population in a normal year. In an old country, the repeated annual production of food in excess of the population's needs, is impossible. Food is perishable, and the old crop, even if it could be stored and carried over, would find its value always destroyed by the new. Hence, where the annual produce of land finds a market for food alone, it tends to reduce the area of tillage to only so much land as will supply this market; more cannot find a market, nor yield a profit. Yet, under most climatic conditions the limitation of the area of tillage to the demand for food alone, is a continuous threat of starvation to some part of the inhabitants, and it is mathematically certain that in some years starvation will come.[1] For the number of mouths to be fed does not vary in correspondence with the difference in crop.

[1] "Famines seem to recur in India at periodical intervals. Every five or ten years the annual scarcity widens its area and becomes a recognized famine; every fifty or a hundred years whole provinces are involved, loss of life becomes widespread, and a great famine is recorded. In the 140 years since Warren Hastings initiated British rule in India, there have been nineteen famines and five severe scarcities. For the period preceding British rule the records have not been so well preserved, but there is ample evidence to show that famine was just as frequent in its incidence and infinitely more deadly in its effects under the native rulers of India." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Tit.; Famine.)

There is a list of Great Famines all occurring in non-drinking proletariats.

Drought, flood, frost, scorching winds, locusts, pests, and plant diseases, unexpectedly cut down the farmer's yield. The number of mouths is constant, the number of acres sown is constant, but the number of bushels reaped is variable. If there is no inducement to the farmer to grow more food than can be eaten in a good year, it is certain that he will grow very much less than enough in a bad year. The nation that tills its land for food alone must soon come to want.[1]

156. The demand for drink insures against a dearth of food. It enlarges the market in which the farmers sell and it regularly buys and consumes a substantial part of their

[1] In the *Essay on the Principle of Population* Malthus supposes that famine must be inevitable because population increases in geometrical, food in arithmetical ratio. ("The human species would increase as the numbers, 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256; and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9." Chap. I.)

With respect to this computation, one observes first that, if it were correct, its effect would long ago have been noticed in the sea, for the ocean's space is equally limited, its yield of food cannot be increased by cultivation, and its inhabitants are incredibly prolific. Yet it is evident that, subject perhaps to tiny oscillations, their number has remained constant through the ages. For in so great a lapse of time any ratio of decrease, however small, must have destroyed them; or any ratio of increase must have entirely filled the waters. The pages of history show that Malthus' calculation is in fact wrong, and that the numbers of the inhabitants of the land (subject also to oscillations) tend to remain as constant as the inhabitants of the deep.

In respect to mankind, it is evident that the Malthusian theory omits the factors of drink and plague. But these are controlling factors and prevent the result which he fears. For a group that drinks must annually cultivate more land than it needs for food; and a drinking nation cannot starve. It is centrifugal, and, if its numbers increase, it draws their supply from a larger area. But its nervous organization is likewise augmenting and as this takes place its fecundity declines so that its numbers tend to become stationary. On the other hand if it is not a drinking nation, its numbers are centennially excised by plague so that the pressure of population on subsistence is continually relieved by this cause. Thus the result predicted by Malthus never did and never can occur.

The fur returns of the Hudson Bay Company for nearly a century from 1821 to 1914, have been lately examined and the periods of increase and decrease of the various species of fur-bearing animals have been

annual produce. In the form of drink, this loses its bulk and its perishable quality, and changes to a small mass easily stored and kept. The harvests of ten years or of twenty years ago cannot be eaten, but may still be drunk. Because alcoholic beverage keeps, the current demand for food products for its manufacture is always elastic. If there is a large surplus, so that food is cheap, much of it will be manufactured into drink. If there is scarcity, so that food is dear, the current crop will be used for food, while the crops of other and abundant years are still available for drink. So the market created by the manufacture of alcohol is

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exactly charted by Mr. C. Gordon Hewitt, D.Sc. in his book on the conservation of wild life of Canada (Scribner, 1921). The periods of maximum abundance of the rabbit are as follows:

"1845, 1854, 1857, 1865, 1877, 1888, 1897, and 1905, or in other words in cycles of 9, 3, 8, 12, 11, 9, and 8, giving an average periodic cycle of 8.5 years." (Chap. IX.)

Similar tables are given for the lynx, the red, cross, black, and white fox, the wolf, marten, fisher, mink, otter, skunk, bear, raccoon, and beaver. It is evident that there is no such thing as a constant rate of increase proportioned to the fecundity of the species. For each species there is shown a few years of increasing numbers followed by years of decreasing numbers, again by an increase and again by a decrease; so that their numbers for nearly a century may be charted by a waving or jagged line which fluctuates during the interval, but ends nearly where it began. This is likewise the numerical history for all the ages of non-drinking man. The fluctuations are due not to famine, but to plague.

"The last period of abundance reached its climax in the Northwest in 1914. When I visited the Rocky Mountains region of northern Alberta, in 1915, signs of the recent abundance of rabbits were everywhere. For miles along the trails the young growth of poplar had been barked and girdled by the hordes of rabbits during the previous winter. But hardly a rabbit was to be seen; they had almost completely disappeared.

"The cause of the sudden plague which kills off the rabbits when they reach their greatest abundance so that the whole countryside is overrun with them is probably of a multiple nature. The chief factor is undoubtedly overcrowding. This results in an epidemic of various parasitic diseases to which rabbits are susceptible, particularly one of bacterial origin, which speedily spread throughout the rabbit population of the affected territory." (Hewitt, *Conservation of Wild Life of Canada*, Chap. IX.)

elastic, always inducing the farmer to produce a surplus beyond the bare requirements of food, always buying and consuming that surplus, taking more when food is abundant and cheap, and less when it is scarce and high. Starvation as a regular incident of national life, recurring with each generation, and mathematically certain when lands are tilled only for food, becomes extremely exceptional, or disappears altogether, when the manufacture of alcohol becomes an established industry, and lands are tilled and their produce annually sold for both food and drink.[1]

157. Because it keeps and improves with age, alcoholic beverage promotes stability and permanence in human relations. A noticeable factor in the first agricultural operations of rising civilizations is the perennial destruction of

[1] "The distillery in itself produces an immense article of trade almost all over the world, to Africa, to North America, and to various parts of Europe. It is of great use, next to food itself, to our fisheries and to our whole navigation. A great part of the distillery was carried on by damaged corn unfit for bread, and by barley and malt of the lowest quality. These things could not be more unexceptionably employed. The domestic consumption of spirits produced, without complaints, a very great revenue, applicable, if we pleased, in bounties to the bringing of corn from other places, far beyond the value of that consumed in making it, or to the encouragement of its increased production at home. As to what is said, in a physical and moral view, against the home consumption of spirits, experience has long since taught me very little to respect the declamations on that subject—whether the thunder of the laws, or the thunder of eloquence, 'is hurled on gin,' always I am thunder proof. The alembic, in my mind, has furnished to the world a far greater benefit and blessing, than if the *opus maximum* had been really found by chemistry, and, like Midas, we could turn everything into gold.

"Undoubtedly there may be a dangerous abuse in the excess of spirits; and at one time I am ready to believe the abuse was great. When spirits are cheap, the business of drunkenness is achieved with little time or labour; but that evil I consider to be wholly done away. Observation for the last forty years, and very particularly for the last thirty, has furnished me with ten instances of drunkenness from other causes, for one from this. Ardent spirit is a great medicine often to remove distempers—much more frequently to prevent them or to chase them away in their beginnings. It is not nutritive in *any great* degree. But, if not food, it greatly alleviates the want of it. It invigorates the stomach for

the product of human labor. The crops are annually harvested and annually consumed. So much is kept over as will suffice for seed. Isolated farmers as portrayed in Homer and Hesiod, or even primitive communities, cannot keep more. The ancient and highly organized kingdom of Egypt, warned by Pharaoh's dream, employed all the national resources to save from seven fat years a surplus which would feed the people during seven lean years; with the result that the masters of the surplus became the masters of the people. But in the ordinary life of primitive civilizations, the harvests of past years do not provide for future needs. Food is perishable and bulky. The storage of cereals is difficult, costly, and risky, the husbandman's flocks and herds must

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the digestion of poor meagre diet, not easily alliable to the human constitution. Wine the poor cannot touch. Beer, as applied to many occasions (as among seamen and fishermen for instance,) will by no means do the business. Let me add, what wits inspired with champagne and claret will turn into ridicule—it is a medicine for the mind. Under the pressure of the cares and sorrows of our mortal condition, men have at all times, and in all countries, called in some physical aid to their moral consolations,—wine, beer, opium, brandy, or tobacco.

"I consider therefore the stopping of the distillery, economically, financially, commercially, medicinally and in some degree, morally too, as a measure rather well meant than well considered. It is too precious a sacrifice to prejudice." (Burke, *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity.*)

In 1795, when this was written Pitt sought to increase the available supply of corn for food by closing the distilleries; an expedient again adopted more than one hundred years later by the American Congress in 1918 to meet a supposed scarcity created by the Great War. If breweries and distilleries are allowed to run in normal times, grain which they then consume may be doubtless saved for food in a period of emergency; but if they are perpetually closed no such saving can be effected because the normal market for surplus grain is cut off. The amount converted into drink need not be large in proportion to the amount consumed as food. Cereal capital does not exist, but nations insure against famine by providing an annual cereal income, a little more than their annual cereal expenditure for food alone. The example of Mr. Micawber may be quoted: "Income, £20; expenditure, 19–19–6, result, happiness; income, £20, expenditure, 20–0–6, result, misery." It is by such a slight margin as this, persistently repeated year after year, century after century, that nations are saved from famine.

be regularly fed and their maintenance, as well as the maintenance of himself, his family and his servants, is altogether dependent upon the renewed labors and the renewed fruitfulness of each succeeding year. The labors and harvests of past years have been consumed.[1]

When tillage extends beyond the production of food and the surplus is converted into drink, its possessor has a new product with new characteristics. Alcohol is less bulky, is cheaply and easily stored, and instead of being quickly perishable improves with care and age. It is worth saving. No abstinence by father or grandfather would enable a grandson to eat the eggs laid by his grandfather's fowls or shear the lambs dropped by his grandfather's ewes; he may still sow his grandfather's fields, but only after his own plough and harrow, not after his grandfather's; he may reap only the grain that he himself has sowed, not the grain that his grandfather sowed; and his bread must come from the grain that he has reaped, not the grain that his grandfather reaped. The only harvest of his grandfather's that can come down to the grandson, not only unimpaired but improved with age, is the harvest that has been converted into alcoholic beverage. If it has been saved and cherished by abstinence or temperance the grandson may still drink wine

[1] All creatures up to civilized man eat live food that keeps and reproduces itself until eaten. The greater number of them (all the denizens of salt water) live in a medium where the supply is constant, and fermentation, decay, or "spoiling" is unknown. Most land creatures die, hibernate, or suspend their activities during the period when live food is unattainable. It is the singular problem of civilized man to live upon the *harvest*, i.e., upon dead food acquired during a short season of the year and stored or kept so as to supply the alimentary needs of undiminished activity during the remainder of the year. There never has been a civilization that has not lived on dead food; and there is no dead food that may not ferment, decay, and spoil. It is mathematically certain that the augmented nervous organizations which create the rise of civilization would discover the tendency of dead food to ferment; and sooner or later would learn to utilize the process of fermentation so as to obain a product that would keep and not spoil. Hence the affinity between civilized man and alcohol would be expected by mathematical law.

made by the grandfather's hands from the harvest of the grandfather's grapes. In all the labors of man, before the discovery of wine, there was little to teach the value of abstinence or saving or permanence. The product of labor was perishable, food that was not eaten spoiled, there was no inducement to expend labor beyond the needs of the present year, and all that men produced, they ate as they went along. If their flocks increased, it was desirable to go to new pastures, and nothing was lost by a change of habitations. Simply because it would keep and could be handed down unimpaired and improved from generation to generation, wine gave a new value to human labor, and introduced new virtues into human life. A permanent habitation, stability of family ties, certainty of paternal lineage, chastity, temperance, industry, thrift, and the habit of saving the products of labor for the use of future generations, all had their rise in this unique fact that wine would keep while food would not.[1] These traits are found at their best in drink-

[1] The comparative mortality of the products of labor is a fascinating subject and a footnote can barely suggest its important bearing upon civilization. I can give only the highest and lowest death rates.

I. CLEANLINESS. This is the most quickly perishable of all, since it vanishes at a touch, or even without a touch, and must be perpetually renewed.

II. FOOD. This is consumed by use; and good food is ordinarily described as being "fit for consumption." But it also perishes nearly as quickly if it is not used. Labor employed in the production and preparation of food, therefore, is very quickly perishable. Its annual product is annually consumed or spoiled, and labor must be annually repeated to avoid starvation.

III. DRINK. Like food it is consumed by use; but unlike food it may be kept until used and is all the better for keeping.

In the general classification of CREATION, REPLACEMENT and DESTRUCTION the reader can divide all human labor on visible things. The labor expended on government, religion, and instruction would have to be separately classified and an analysis of that labor which shows what is wasted and what is not, is a fine mental exercise. In respect to visible things, the only human labor whose product is immortal is labor devoted

ing groups; less in groups that have had drink and have abandoned it; and hardly at all in those groups where drink has never been known.

158. Because it is of smaller bulk as well as less perishable than the food from which it is made, alcoholic beverage lends itself readily to commerce and the exchange of agricultural products. The origin of the shipping ton is the tun

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to destruction. A thing once destroyed is destroyed forever. Labor devoted to creation and replacement has a rate of mortality which varies from the examples of cleanliness, food, drink and fuel, which are ephemeral, to certain structures like tombs which are nearly eternal.

It is only augmented nervous organizations that cannot bear idleness. They must be incessantly active and their incessant activities of body and mind are bounded only by their waking hours. Accordingly, labor's most perishable products—cleanliness and food—perpetually destroyed by the finger of time and renewed only by the perpetual repetition of the same perishable labor, are found in abundance only among augmented nervous organizations. Nothing but incessant toil maintains the existence of these perishable things; and the life of augmented nervous organizations is always pictured as a life of incessant toil. Excellent examples are found: Among the Jews, in the picture of the virtuous woman in the last chapter of Proverbs; among the Romans, in the last two stanzas of Macaulay's poem *Horatius*; and in New England, in Lowell's poem *The Courtin'*. In all these accounts of augmented nervous organizations, a busy family is portrayed actively engaged for longer than the daylight hours in labor that will soon perish and must be daily or annually repeated. Every furrow that Zekle drew and every ton he pitched was but an annual provision for annual needs annually consumed, and must be annually repeated. Woman's labors perish even quicker. Huldy, peeling apples, and her mother, "sprinklin' clo'es agin to-morrer's i'nin'," were laboring at tasks whose visible results disappear in a day or a week. The housewife who cooks the family meals and washes the dishes three times a day, makes the beds, sweeps and dusts once a day, bakes twice a week, and washes all the family linen once a week, performs an endless round of laborious tasks whose visible results do not accumulate, add nothing to the family's visible wealth, but go as fast as they come, so that after a generation she leaves her daughters the same tasks. Hence the saying that "woman's work is never done." It is in fact undone as fast as it is done. The same thing is true of the husbandman's labors in producing food, except that they are repeated annually instead of daily or weekly.

A few generations have accustomed civilized nations to expect cheerful

of wine. In European ports, the practice grew up of describing a ship's capacity for cargo in terms of the number of tuns of wine which could be carried.[1] Commerce has always been attracted by articles of merchandise other than the product of food—by spices, perfumes, incense, dyestuffs, fabrics, manufactures and metals. But the food product first and easiest carried by ships has ever been wine or some other form of alcoholic beverage. It formed a great part of the commerce of the port of Athens. Wine in earlier days, like rum and gin in the eighteenth century, rewarded navigators for their ventures into strange ports and unknown seas, opened new trade routes, and was followed long afterward by the transportation of the more bulky and more perishable cereals. In the exchange of food products between distant countries and different climes, an extremely important factor in the insurance against starvation, alco-

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and energetic repetition of incessant labor and to take for granted the continuous reproduction of perishable cleanliness and food. But a moderate acquaintance with history shows that the periods are short and the populations are few where cleanliness and food have been incessantly reproduced as fast as they have perished. It is only among augmented nervous organizations, therefore in civilization, that both are found in abundance. The vast majority of mankind, including all the lower nervous organizations, in all the ages, have been and are lazy, hungry, and dirty.

A corollary of the foregoing is the fact, easily verified from history, that only augmented nervous organizations possess capital. Their incessant activities of mind and body, when intelligently directed to the production of less perishable things than cleanliness and food, soon create a great store of possessions which are not consumed by use, but may be handed down from generation to generation, requiring only a moderate expenditure of new labor for renewal or repair, and rewarding this new labor with returns greater than its cost. Heritable wealth having these characteristics constitutes capital and yields profit. It is never found in non-drinking groups of low nervous organization, and if such a group began with capital it would soon be lost; but it is always found in drinking groups of augmented nervous organization and though they begin poor, they will soon acquire it—enriching themselves and the fortunate country where they live.

[1] Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, Appendix D.

holic beverage has always and necessarily led the way; no less in the ancient traffic of the Mediterranean than two thousand years later in Christian Europe.[1]

159. Because it is a palatable and tempting intoxicant, dangerous if taken intemperately, alcoholic beverage continuously rewards temperance and spiritual resistance to temptation. It offers a like temptation to each of the mortal units of the group where it is freely made and sold. The powers of spiritual resistance of all these mortals are similarly and perennially tried. Those who surrender altogether to temptation and remain continuously intoxicated are severely handicapped; those who resist partly and are seldom intoxicated, are handicapped very much less; while those whose powers of spiritual resistance withstand temptation and who are never intoxicated, enjoy a proportionate advantage. This sleepless and perennial test of spiritual stamina by a temptation daily and nightly presented to the everchanging multitude of mortal and fruitful units which constitute a nation, exercises a continuous effective and selective influence for uplifting the national character. The spiritual dwarfs and cripples are perpetually exposed; the spiritually upright and strong perpetually discovered. Men learn the spiritual as well as the bodily stature of their fellowmen. Spiritual tests become important, character is exalted, the testimony of alcoholic temptation is decisive,

[1] The intimate association of drink and sea-power may be seen in all history. Non-drinking navies have never been able to cope with drinking navies; and if a non-drinking navy succeeded in capturing a hostile port where drink could be obtained, it would be a barren victory, for the vanquished would soon overcome their conquerors by offering them drink. In the Punic wars, the sea-power of Carthage declined under her prohibitory legislation; while that of Rome rose as wine became more abundant in Italy. The sea-power of the Moslems was at its height when they were wine-drinkers and gradually declined to zero as they substituted coffee for alcohol. The sea-power of both Holland and England rose to its height when both had cheap and abundant spirits and rum was a regular part of the navy's ration. European naval enterprise in the plague-infested tropics of the old and new world would have been impossible without drink.

and each man judges himself and renders a just verdict on his own powers of spiritual resistance.

Between mortals the powers of spiritual resistance are subject to the oscillations and uncertainties which surround the action of units. With groups there are no oscillations, nor uncertainties, but the powers of spiritual resistance are exactly proportioned to the augmentation of the nervous organization. Groups of augmented nervous organization, and of consequent high spiritual stature, use alcoholic beverage wisely and moderately as a mild and transient narcotic, stimulant, or anti-septic, but oppose strong spiritual barriers to its use as an intoxicant; and drunkenness is rare or unknown among them. Groups of low nervous or-organization offer less spiritual resistance to temptation, indulge in alcoholic beverage as a stimulant and intoxicant, and only stop drinking when overcome by its narcotic effects. Thus, alcoholic temptation measures with infallible accuracy the difference in the nervous organization of groups, and invariably gives to the group of augmented nervous organization a substantial advantage. In the march of civilization, this advantage has been continuously enjoyed by civilized and drinking groups over uncivilized and unalcoholized groups.[1]

[1] Franklin describes the effect of rum upon the Indians with whom he was commissioned to make a treaty at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and notices the advantage which it gave to civilized man over savages. After the treaty was made the Indians were given rum, and indulged in a drunken riot which lasted all night.

"The next day, sensible they had misbehaved in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counselors to make their apology. The orator acknowledged the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavored to excuse the rum by saying, '*The Great Spirit*,' *who made all things, made everything for some use, and whatever use he designed any thing for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said*, '*Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with*,' *and it must be so.* And, indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea-coast."

Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*.

Within the boundaries of civilized nations themselves, it is enjoyed by the less prolific groups of augmented nervous organization over the more prolific groups of lower nervous organization. And, even within a group of like nervous organizations, the same general law is exhibited by the difference between youth and age; so that a group of young men whose nervous organizations are not yet fully developed will become frequently intoxicated, while the same men twenty years older, with their intellects fully developed, will lead entirely sober lives.[1]

It is an advantage continuously enjoyed by groups whose nervous organization is so augmented that they can worship an invisible God. The most religious of these groups are invariably those who best resist alcoholic temptation. So that although wine performed a sacramental office in the religions of both Numa and Jesus, the most pious Romans and Christians were always the most sober.

160. In respect to its qualities as an intoxicant, the advantages which alcoholic beverage give to groups of augmented nervous organization over groups of lower nervous organization are clearly necessary and useful; since augmented nervous organizations are always less numerous and less prolific than lower nervous organizations and, without these advantages, they must soon disappear. But it is useful, also, to observe within a group of augmented nervous organization itself, the effect of alcoholic beverage as a narcotic in improving, strengthening and augmenting the intellect of the group. There is no doubt that it is a narcotic; i.e. a burden which even in small quantities temporarily impedes mental alertness, dulls the brain, and by continuous excess impairs the faculties and may permanently injure the nervous system.[2]

[1] How many a father have I seen,
A sober man, among his boys,
Whose youth was full of foolish noise,
Who wears his manhood hale and green.

TENNYSON, *In Memoriam*, LIII.

[2] The evidence "supports the conclusion that the direct effect of alcohol upon the nervous system is, in all stages and upon all parts of the

The manner in which such a burden, which impedes the mental activity of a mortal, augments the intellectual powers of a group, is one of the most interesting things in history.

Picture a body of marching men, each carrying on his shoulders a heavy burden. They march in step. But the burden is voluntarily borne and any of them may cast it off who will. Some do cast it off. The others, inured to it, still shoulder their burden and strive to keep step with those who have dropped it. The strongest succeed; others nearly keep step, but fall somewhat behind. The weakest fall out altogether. They will not drop their burden and they cannot carry it and keep step.

Now if this body of men were fixed and unchanging, incapable of adding strength or weakness to its individual members, the obvious thing to do would be to take the burden off from all, at once. Then they would march as much better as they were lightened. But it is an ever-changing body. Old members die; new ones are born; and the new inherit from the old. The greater number of adult recruits come from those who have kept in step. These, therefore, who are born to those old members who have cast off the burden, inherit their father's ability to rid themselves of it. Those born to the strongest of the old members —who carried the burden and still kept in step—inherit their father's strength. They could carry the burden and march with the unburdened. But on these, as on their fathers, the burden is voluntary. Though they have the strength to carry it, they may cast it off if they will. Some of them do. So there are then, in this marching body, members who have the strength to carry the burden, but have cast the burden off. They now set the pace. Those who will not drop their burden must keep up with those who in-

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system, to depress or suspend its functions, that it is, in short, from first to last a narcotic drug." (*Alcohol: Its Action on the Human Organism.* Report of the Advisory Committee of the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic), December, 1917.)

herited the strength to carry it but have dropped it. So now there is imposed a severer test than before. The marching body is strung out. Its leaders are still those who are strong enough to carry the burden, but do not, and those stronger men who carry it and keep up. Plainly, as long as this test is continued, and as long as new members of the marching body inherit the strength of the old, its membership must grow stronger. Each recruit has his choice whether to carry the burden or not. If he lays it down, and still falls behind in the march, he has discovered such weakness that he cannot even keep up with his burdened fellows. If he lays it down, and keeps up, he shows at least sufficient strength to march without a burden as fast and as far as others march with it; and he shows the strength to drop it. His children who inherit both his strengths will also keep up. Those only strong enough to keep up without the burden, and not strong enough to drop it, will fall behind. The strength of some recruits will be equal to carrying the burden and still keeping up—not only with others who are carrying it, but with the strongest who are not carrying it. This strength will descend to their children; and each child besides, will have the privilege (with all his strength) of dropping the burden.

If the burden were at once thrown off from all, no such results would follow. The test of strength between the burdened and the non-burdened would not be made. All the recruits would be unburdened. Their descendants, the recruits of future generations, would be unburdened and born to the unburdened. The marching pace would not be set by those strong enough to carry the burden, yet not carrying it. The strength of the marching body would decline in time to the strength of those who could not carry a burden. The marching body, as a whole, would be weaker.

161. This simple example of the effects of a burden on an everchanging group of ancestors and descendants marching in step, illustrates the action of alcohol on the physical and mental powers of nations. As an intoxicant, it burdens the

body, as a narcotic it burdens the mind. The action of each is impeded and each must throw off or bear its weight. Such a burden voluntarily carried or dropped by the everchanging multitude of fertile mortals which constitute a nation, continuously taxes their strength and selects the stronger. Each generation sees some of its number fall, too weak to bear the burden, too weak to throw it off. Each generation sees the strong outstrip the weak and set the pace for all. The value of temperance to man is proportioned to the weight of the excesses which his ancestors have borne and survived. Innumerable experiments have shown the corporeal and mental advantages which abstinence gives to the descendants of drinking ancestors. Never has there been shown any similar advantage shared by abstinent descendants of abstinent ancestors. Corporeally and mentally the weakest groups are invariably those where alcoholic beverages are unused or unknown, and every mortal of every generation is deprived of the strength acquired and transmitted from drinking ancestors. Abstinence exalts the descendants of drinking ancestors, but cannot improve the descendants of abstinent ancestors. They attain naturally, but do not surpass, the standards set by generations of unburdened forbears. The descendants of burdened ancestors are born to a higher standard—a standard which is up to the ancestral weights. So abstinence gains for the descendants of abstinent ancestors nothing, of drinking ancestors much. Enforced abstinence, reducing posterity to a standard set only by the weak, enfeebles the group. The whole world may be called as witness to this fact, for standards of achievement are everywhere set by the alcoholized, not by the non-alcoholized races.

162. The comparative effects of alcohol and coffee are no less interesting. Alcohol is a narcotic which dulls the mind; coffee on the other hand is a stimulant which spurs to greater mental activity. It would be expected, therefore, that a group which drank alcohol would gradually increase its mental powers so as to support the voluntary burden;

and that a group which abstained from alcohol and drank coffee would suffer a gradual decline of its mental powers till they were sufficiently dulled to endure constant stimulation. All the available evidence confirms mathematical expectation.

In the early rise of Moslem civilization, and the brilliant achievements of Moslem intellect and arms, they were a wine drinking people, descendants in all conquered countries of mothers of a wine drinking group. The Moslem conquerors of Spain gave to the wines of Malaga and Jerez their celebrity. In Bagdad, Cairo, and Damascus, Moslem civilization as pictured in the Arabian nights shows wine, wine-bibbing and drunkenness to have been common; whereas coffee is mentioned only once at the very end of the tales.

The period of wine drinking was succeeded by a period of coffee drinking. In the fifteenth century, fanatical Mullahs began to preach a holy war against alcohol. Coffee was discovered, and soon became the preferred beverage of pious Moslems. In another century, the use of coffee had spread to all classes, and the newer beverage ousted wine from Moslem daily life, and from folk tales. By the sixteenth century, the change was complete and universal; from a wine drinking they had become a coffee drinking people.

The change in Moslem intellect between these two periods is startling. In the former, or wine drinking period, the Moslems included all the most brilliant minds of the age. In the field of mathematics, especially, they towered above all past ages, and over all their contemporaries. They taught arithmetic to Europe. They borrowed from India and transmitted to Christendom that convenient system of notation consisting of nine digits and a cipher, which Christians still call "Arabic notation." They introduced to Christendom the science as well as the name of algebra. In Cordova, in the ninth century, Moslems knew that they lived on a round earth, taught geography from globes, understood many of the basic principles of astronomy, and calculated the Obliquity of the Ecliptic—a problem which

for another five hundred years Christian Europe would hardly know how to state, much less to solve.

From this brilliant height the Moslem intellect, after three centuries of substitution of coffee for alcohol, declined to a point lower than their oriental or polygamous neighbors, or than Asiatics generally. Burton, observing them in the nineteenth century declares:

"As a rule Moslems are absurdly ignorant of arithmetic and apparently cannot master it. Hence in Egypt they use Copts for calculating-machines and further East Hindus." (Burton, *Arabian Nights*, Night CDLVIII.)

Lane found that the Egyptian Moslems called the Copts "teacher" or "master."

"Many of the Copts are employed as secretaries or accountants. In every village of a moderate size is a 'M allim' who keeps the register of the taxes. The writing of the Copts differs considerably in style from that of the Muslim as well as from that of other Christians residing in Egypt. Most of the Copts in Cairo are accountants or tradesmen: the former are chiefly employed in government offices: among the latter are many merchants, goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers, architects, builders, and carpenters, all of whom are generally esteemed more skilful than the Muslims. [E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Supplement. Tit.' The Copts.]

The Copts are native Egyptians, living side by side with the Moslems, and having nearly the same domestic manners; but the Copts are Christian drunkards. If the decline of the Moslem intellect is due to the abandonment of alcohol, and the substitution of coffee as a beverage, it would be natural to find that the Copts who perform for them the simple arithmetic which exceeds the Moslem intellectual powers, have continued to drink alcohol.[1] Such is the case. Lane,

[1] "The Copts are still, even in their degraded state, the most civilised of the natives: the intelligence of Egypt still lingers in the Coptic scribes, who are, on this account, used as clerks in the offices of their conquerors,

himself a Christian of a drinking race, gives a very unfavorable view of the Copts and indicates that the chief reason for the superiority of Copts over Moslems is that the former are hard drinkers of brandy.

"The ordinary domestic habits of the Copts are perfectly Oriental, and nearly the same as those of their Muslim fellow-countrymen. They pass their hours of leisure chiefly in the same manner, enjoying their pipe and coffee: their meals, also, are similar; and their manner of eating is the same; but they indulge in drinking brandy at all hours of the day; and often, to excess." (*Ibid.*)

Corroborative evidence that the extreme decline of the Moslem intellect must be attributed to the substitution of coffee for alcohol as a beverage rather than to polygamy, is found in the fact that the polygamous peoples of Asia where tea-drinking is common, have not suffered the same decline.

The same contrast found in Egypt between the intellectual powers of the brandy drinking Copts and the coffee drinking Moslems is seen on a larger scale in a general survey of Moslem and Christian intellect as they were in the tenth century when Moslems drank wine, which Western Europe hardly knew; and in the nineteenth century when Moslems drank only coffee, and Western Europe for three centuries had known cheap and abundant wine and spirits.

163. Every nation's future genius must rise from its present proletariat; since existing augmented nervous organizations are necessarily unfertile and cannot maintain their own numbers nor continue to yield the augmented nervous organizations of the national future. Hence, it is the influence of alcohol upon the national proletariat that is most important. Historical inquiry on this point is made easier by the exclusion of two common situations repeatedly recurring in large groups.

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or as registrars of the water-marks of the Nile." (Stanley, *The Eastern Church*, Lecture I.) Dean Stanley also notices the Copts' drinking habits.

I. Savages and nomads, where alcohol is entirely unknown and unused. Whatever class istinctions exist among them do not divide the drinkers and the non-drinkers.

II. The ruling or upper classes of all civilizations. These have uniformly indulged the habit of drinking—secretly if not openly.

The subjects of inquiry are thus narrowed to two:

III. Civilizations where poverty, taxation, or prohibition excluded alcohol from common use by the common people—the proletariat or subject class.

IV. Civilizations where none of these causes is effective and drinking is the common indulgence of all classes.

Of these four groups it would be expected that only the fourth would display national genius for an extended period; augmented nervous organizations continually rising from the most numerous and prolific group below, to supply the continuous exhaustion of the less numerous groups above. History exactly fulfills this mathematical expectation.

164. In the stagnant civilizations of Asia, all three of the causes noted in Class III—poverty, taxation and prohibition—have been effective for centuries to exclude the common use of alcohol from the common people. National prohibition has been the accepted principle of Asiatic political administration from time immemorial. There is evidence that it began in China eleven centuries B.C.; was continued by successive decrees of succeeding emperors or dynasties, usually growing more stringent and enforced by harsher punishments, to the Tartar emperors of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D.; that it was taught by the religions of Buddha and Mohammed and preached by the priests of India and Persia; that it was decreed by the Mogul emperors of India and was found existing there by the English when they began their Indian conquests. It was likewise the law of Burma.

It is not necessary to suppose that statutory or religious prohibition of intoxicating liquor always existed or was enforced equally on all these extensive populations. The

scale of Asiatic taxation was an effective instrument, in itself, for preventing the indulgence of alcoholic beverage by all the Asiatic masses. The characteristic Asiatic government for upwards of two thousand years established but three estates of the realm—ruler, Church, and poor. There was no independent middle class, no group possessing independent wealth which could be withheld from the government. The taxation which state and Church imposed upon the poor annually consumed the entire surplus of the product of their labor, so that the laborers themselves never had more than the bread necessary for their existence; and in times of shortage had less. This taxation was such that Strabo supposed that the ruler owned all the land, and that the laborers tilled it for his benefit. The Mohammedan conquerors of India exacted even a heavier taxation than they could actually collect—amounting sometimes to ninety per cent of the produce of the land.

165. Since alcoholic beverage is made from food, and consumes the surplus over and above the need for bread, it is certain that those who are left only enough for bread cannot also have drink. A scale of taxation which deprived laborers on the soil of everything but a bare subsistence, was an effectual prohibition of intoxicants. The same prohibition will be noticed later in the poverty of the plebeians during the earlier centuries of Rome, and of European laborers in the Middle Ages; with this difference, that in Asia the condition of the common people was made permanent by the burden of taxation, while in Rome and Christendom it gradually improved so as to allow their indulgence in alcohol. With the few and rare exceptions which history discloses, it may be asserted, as a general rule, that the masses of laboring men of all countries and of all ages have been forbidden indulgence in drink because they have possessed no surplus food wherewith it could be made. This applies to the slaves of all lands; to the forced labor of Asia, Egypt, Carthage and Byzantium; to the system of serfdom or agricultural laborers chained to the

soil; and to the rationed proletariat of the towns. It may be supplemented from time to time by the prohibitions of state and Church. But the rule is equally good without prohibition. It is always the proletariat which is forbidden drink and the ruling classes which indulge in it. In Sparta, this may be inferred from the practice of occasionally making a Helot drunk as an example to the children of his Spartan masters. In Carthage, the law forbade wine to slaves. In India, Jahangir—himself a heavy drinker—prohibited it to his subjects. And it is altogether probable that when "Belshazzar the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords and drank wine before the thousand" wine was an indulgence of the ruling caste, monarch, and court, and that the common people of Babylon were total abstainers. The same abstinence and from the same cause, may be inferred in all the realms ruled from Constantinople after Justinian. An Asiatic administration, code, criminal procedure, and taxation which reduced land owners to serfs, chained them to the soil they tilled, and annually swept into the imperial treasury the entire surplus of the product of their labor, must have had the same effect. History warrants the conclusion that the entire proletariat of Asia—to which Egypt, Carthage, and the Byzantine empire may be added—for some twenty centuries or more has been effectually deprived of the common use of alcoholic liquors.[1]

[1] "This record agrees also both with modern fact and ancient monumental records, showing that intemperance was confined to courts and was not the vice of common people." (*Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition.* Art: Historical and Philosophical Notes on Intemperance.)

In France, a vine-growing country, Rousseau found the destitution of the agricultural peasantry so great that they dare not possess wine or drink it openly for fear of the excise tax. On a journey from Paris he entered a peasant's hut for refreshment:

"I entreated the countryman to give me some dinner, offering to pay for it: on which he presented me with some skimmed milk and coarse barley-bread, saying it was all he had. I drank the milk with pleasure and ate the bread, chaff and all; but it was not very restorative to a man sinking with fatigue. The countryman, who watched me narrowly

166. The sacramental use of wine was taught to the Romans by Numa; but, for three centuries, the sacrifices were performed only by the patrician class, who alone were eligible for the offices of pontiff and augur. In the sixth century B.C., in the story of Lucretia, the young patricians are described as "heated with wine." But the general poverty of the Roman plebeians at this time, and for about three centuries later, forbids the belief that wine was in common use by the proletariat. The usual allotment of land to newcomers and to colonists was about two acres for each family, and as succeeding generations multiplied, their patrimony must have been divided among several sons. Note the testimony as to the distribution of land:

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judged the truth of my story by my appetite, and presently (after having said that he plainly saw I was an honest, good-natured young man, and did not come to betray him) opened a little trap door by the side of his kitchen, went down, and returned a moment after with a good brown loaf of pure wheat, the remains of a well-flavored ham, and a bottle of wine, the sight of which rejoiced my heart more than all the rest: he then prepared a good thick omelet, and I made such a dinner as none but a walking traveller ever enjoyed.

"When I again offered to pay, his inquietude and fears returned; he not only would have no money, but refused it with the most evident emotion; and what made this seem more amusing, I could not imagine the motive of his fear. At length he pronounced tremblingly those terrible words, 'Commissioners,' and 'Cellar-rats,' which he explained by giving me to understand that he concealed his wine because of the excise, and his bread on account of the tax imposed on it; adding, he should be an undone man, if it was suspected he was not almost perishing with want. What he said to me on this subject (of which I had not the smallest idea) made an impression on my mind that can never be effaced, sowing seeds of that inextinguishable hatred which has since grown up in my heart against the vexations these unhappy people suffer, and against their oppressors." (J. J. Rousseau, *Confessions*, Book IV.)

Time has brought many changes that this red Republican did not expect. Under the Bourbon monarchy of eighteenth century France, the poor peasant hid his wine only to escape the tax upon it. Under the Republican government of twentieth century America the same wine would be seized and confiscated and the poor peasant arrested, prosecuted for crime, and sent to jail.

At the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Appius Claudius emigrated from the Sabines to the Romans, "bringing five thousand families with their wives and children, people of the quietest and steadiest temper of all the Sabines." Claudius, a patrician and senator, was given twenty-five acres, but to each of the other families there was allotted two acres of land." (Plutarch's *Life of Poplicola.*) In the fourth century B.C., after the victories of Titus Manlius in Campania, land as far as the river Vulturnus was distributed to the commons of Rome in the following manner:

"In the Latin land two acres a man were assigned, so that they should receive an additional three-fourths of an acre from the Privernian land; in the Falernian land three acres were assigned, one fourth of an acre being further added, in consideration of the distance." (Livy. *History of Rome*, Bk. VIII, Chap. II.)

Down to the time of Cato, in the second century B.C., the area tilled by Roman farmers appears always to have been small. Cincinnatus is supposed to have had only four or five acres; Regulus no more than seven; Manius Curius a small country place tilled with his own hands. And these were important men of the state, consuls, dictators, triumphators. The portion of the plebeians and the proletariat must have been very much smaller. Even at the end of the third century B.C., the inheritance of Spurius Ligustinus of the Crustuminian tribe, as described in his speech, was one acre of land on which he brought up a family of six sons and two daughters.

167. After the victories of the third century B.C., the plebeian land holdings began to increase, and the use of wine gradually extended to the common people. The change may be dated at about the beginning of the second century B.C. Cato, writing during that century, allowed for each farm hand eight quadrantals or amphora of wine per annum. Scipio's veterans received two acres of land for each year of their service in Spain or Africa; their farms may have been

ten or twenty acres each. Livy records the following allotments of land to colonists during this century:

Y. R. 563—Bononia (Cisalpine Gaul)	70 acres to each horseman 50 acres to each other colonist (Livy, Bk. XXXVII, 57)
Y. R. 570—Mutina	5 acres each
Parma	8 acres each
Saturnia	10 acres each (Livy, Bk. XXXIX, 55)
Y. R. 571—Aquileia	140 acres to each horseman 100 acres to each centurion 50 acres to each foot soldier (Livy, Bk. XL, 34)
Y. R. 575—Luca	51½ acres to each (Livy, Bk. XLI, 13)

Farms of this size could have produced more than a bare subsistence for food. It may be inferred that these colonists kept cattle and cultivated vines. Flesh and wine must have been now added to the gramnivorous diet of the earlier Roman plebeians. Marius, at the end of the second century, distributed fourteen acres of land to each man, and understood that some desired more. "God forbid," he said, "that any Roman should think that too little which is enough to keep him alive and well." (Plutarch's *Life of Crassus.*)

In the three centuries since the foundation of the Claudian tribe, the land awarded to Roman citizens had increased from five to twenty-five times. A plebeian of the second century B.C. might own and till a farm two or three times as large as a patrician's holding three centuries earlier.[1]

[1] I have not the advantage of the Latin text, and take the word "acre" as I find it in the translations. The Roman unit of measurement of agricultural land was the "jugerum," meaning a plot which an ox could plough in one day (jugum = yoke). A "jugerum" was about five eighths of an acre. If the translators have used the word "acre" as an equivalent for "jugerum," then the true area of these farms was only

Vine-growing began on an extensive scale, wine became cheap and abundant, so that it formed part of the ration of slaves and laborers, and was sold or even given away to the city poor. "In the very year that Caius Gracchus died (B.C., 121) the vines planted ten years before gave a copious vintage, part of which was carried to Rome, barrels

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about 62% of the area given in acres in the English text. But the change in proportion between the small farms of the non-drinking plebeians of early Rome and the large farms of the drinking plebeians of Italy after the second century B.C. would be as I have stated.

Nothing deserves exactness and accuracy more than historians' statements as to the area of tilled lands or farms. The translation of ancient into modern terms of money means little because no reader can acquire an accurate conspectus of the purchasing power of ancient money. But the yield of an acre of land is in all ages relatively constant and an exact statement of the area tilled by husbandmen in any land or age, gives a very fair picture of its institutions, religion, habits, civilization, and of the rewards of labor, both rustic and urban. Exact knowledge of this area in two different ages of the same country will show whether it is standing still, or going forward or backward.

The minimum is about an acre per man—an area which a family of low nervous organization can till with the most primitive tools and without cattle. When landholdings are standardized on this area there may be inferred low nervous organizations, low wages, a vegetarian diet without flesh or wine, idolatry, slavery, serfdom, famine and pestilence. This was the area tilled by the non-drinking plebeians of early Rome which they gradually increased, and by the non-drinking proletariats of Asia which has not increased for ages. Where the area increases as it did in Italy, in the last century of the Republic, and in modern Europe, rising to eighty acres per man in the free labor of America, there may be inferred augmented nervous organizations, a diet which includes flesh and alcohol, no idolatry, no slavery or serfdom, no famine and no pestilence —in short rising civilization. The following interesting excerpts show how the smaller area has remained unchanged for centuries in India and has increased in Europe and America as it did in Italy.

"At the beginning of the present century there were from 100 to 120 persons to each 100 acres of "normal cultivation" in some of the western districts of the United Provinces, while there were from 60 to 70 persons to 100 acres in other districts lying farther south; the difference between these figures is adequately explained by permanent features of the environment, and the conclusion is that it has probably persisted with relatively little change, and that the western districts required some-

being opened in all the streets." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I, Chap. III.) It is from this century that the Roman commons began to be regular drinkers of wine, and it is in this and the following century that they attained their greatest mental and corporeal vigor—an exact parallel to the experience of the English commons with gin in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Plague likewise departed from Italy and from England with the introduction of drinking habits among the poor.[1]

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where about 100 to 120 persons, and the southern somewhere about 60 to 70 persons, to cultivate 100 acres in the time of Akbar and throughout the intervening period." (Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, Chap. IV, p. 110.)

"Saserna's rule would be the equivalent of one hand to every five acres cultivated. With slave labour, certainly with negro slave labour, the experience of American cotton planters in the nineteenth century very nearly confirmed this requirement, but one of the economic advantages of the abolition of slavery is illustrated by this very point. In Latimer's *First Sermon Preached before King Edward VI*, animadverting on the advance in farm rents in his day, he says that his father, a typical substantial English yeoman of the time of the discovery of America, was able to employ profitably six labourers in cultivating 120 acres, or, say, one hand for each twenty acres, which was precisely what Arthur Young recommended as necessary for high farming at the end of the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century the American farmer seldom employs more than one hand for every eighty acres cultivated, but this is partly due to the use of improved machinery and partly to the fact that his land is not thoroughly cultivated." (Fairfax Harrison, *Roman Farm Management*, By a Virginia Farmer. Bk. I., Chap. XVIII.)

Mr. Harrison is probably too liberal in allowing twenty acres of arable land to each farm hand in England in the sixteenth century. Latimer's father had walk for an hundred sheep, and his mother milked thirty kine. Accordingly a large part of the farm was in grass and a large part of the labor was probably done by women. In the sixteenth century women would have done all the work of the dairy and a large part of the labor of haying and harvesting—as they still do in continental Europe.

[1] In the campaign against Pompey, Cæsar's army was saved by wine. Lack of provisions had reduced his soldiers to living upon roots, and the irregular diet had infected them all with dysentery, so that Cæsar

It must then, be inferred that the plebeians, for about five centuries after the founding of Rome, were generally deprived, by poverty, of the use of wine. Men who reared a large family on an acre or two acres of land required its entire produce for food alone. Such a farm could be cultivated by the labor of the spade, without cattle, and there would be no surplus for feeding cattle. Neither would there be a surplus exchangeable for wine. It is entirely probable that even the industrious plebeians, and it is certain that the proletariat of this period, rarely if ever drank. And this

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suffered a considerable defeat, and his affairs were so desperate that he retreated into Thessaly.

"But after he took Gomphi, a town of Thessaly, he not only found provisions for his army, but physic too. For there they met with plenty of wine, which they took very freely, and heated with this, sporting and revelling on their march in bacchanalian fashion, they shook off the disease, and their whole constitution was relieved and changed into another habit." (Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*.)

It may be inferred that in this period (first century B.C.) all Cæsar's foot-soldiers were accustomed to wine. For its effect upon men unaccustomed to its use is to get them drunk; whereas its effect upon Cæsar's army was to make them well. Their drinking bout at Gomphi was followed by their victory at Pharsalia.

Drinking mortals learned the effects of wine at a very early period in human history and modern science has added little or nothing to the knowledge then acquired. At the siege of Troy Hector showed an appreciation of its toxic effects when he refused the glass of wine, offered to him by his mother, on the ground that it might impair his ability to fight. ("Lift not for me the wine, revered mother, lest you weaken my limbs, and I forget my might and valor.") Its therapeutic value was known to Cæsar's soldiers, as shown in the extract quoted from Plutarch. It was also known to St. Paul, who advised Timothy to "drink no longer water but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." It has been employed as a household remedy by Christians ever since. John Wesley recovered his health by living for some days on a self-imposed diet of claret and water; and was advised by his doctor to continue the same regimen (July 31st to August 3, 1753). He also records of his maternal grandfather, Annesley (father of Susannah Wesley), "He lived seventy-seven years and would probably have lived longer had he not begun water-drinking at seventy."—Wesley's *Journals*, February 6, 1769.

inference is confirmed by Livy's statement that when the senate decreed a supplication for two days "the wine and incense for the sacrifices were furnished at the expense of the public treasury." (Bk. X, Chap. XXIII, Y. R. 456.)

This may be taken to mean that the plebeians at that time were too poor to furnish even the sacramental wine.[1]

168. There is like evidence that the use of wine was unknown to the Christian proletariat of Europe in the Middle Ages. From the fifth century onward, a succession of hostile invasions destroyed homes, farmsteads, permanent habitations, peaceful husbandry, and the regular tillage of fields and vineyards. The once populous provinces of the Western empire presented a scene of ruin and desolation. Man's ancient handiwork, the inheritance of centuries, all destroyed, man himself in many places nearly extinct, and elsewhere a sparse population struggling for a miserable existence amid the universal destitution. For the regular manufacture, traffic, and use of intoxicating liquor by mankind, certain conditions are absolutely necessary—a surplus of food from which it can be made, permanent habitations where it can be kept, peace, property rights, the conveyance and exchange of commodities through trade and commerce. From the sack of Rome to the reign of Charlemagne, none of these conditions can be found existing anywhere in western Christendom. The unconverted barbarians of the

[1] "Most of the families had a small holding and cottage of their own, where father and sons lived and worked together, growing corn for the most part, with here and there a strip of vine or olive." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I, Chap. I.) "His menu called for no meat. The invincible legionaries of Rome had conquered the world on a fare of wheat porridge, and the state in Cicero's day gave every citizen applicant at Rome a soldier's ration of a bushel of wheat per month at about one-third the market price; under the Empire, this ration became a free gift." (T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, Chap. XV.) Numa taught the Romans to celebrate their sacrifices without flesh, but with flour, wine and less costly offerings. It may be inferred that most of the Romans were too poor to afford flesh meat, and that Numa's design was to bring religious ceremonials within reach of the poor.

North intoxicated themselves with mead or metheglin, the use of which was probably confined to their chiefs. But during this whole period it is certain that the entire Christian proletariat of Europe was deprived of any intoxicant. Charlemagne began the cultivation of the vine anew; and from the ninth to the thirteenth century the manufacture and use of wine struggled against the disorders of the times. There was neither commerce, nor money, nor wages, nor means for distributing or increasing its use by traffic; it was confined to the landlords, and among them to those whose lands grew vines. When tillage and commerce were resumed, the manufacture of intoxicating liquors began and gradually spread; ale was made from the surplus grains and wine became an article of commerce; the use of both, however, long after the thirteenth century, was still confined to the landlord class. The poor had neither the money to buy an intoxicant, nor the surplus food wherewith to make it, nor permanent habitations[1] wherein to keep it.

John Ball, complaining of the rich in the fourteenth century said: "They have wine and spices and fair bread, and wee oatcake and straw and water to drink." In the same century J. Gower, writing of the English peasant declared:

"Labourers of old were not wont to eat of wheaton bread; their meat was of beans or coarser corn, and their drink of water alone. Cheese and milk were a feast to them, and rarely ate they of other dainties." (*Mirour de L'omme*, ll. 26, 437 ff.)

In describing Jack Cade's rebellion, Shakespeare makes him say:

"The three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops; and I will make it felony to drink small beer."

In the *Complaynt of Scotlande* (1549) a Scotch farmer of the sixteenth century declares:

[1] It is reckoned that about one-fourth of the inhabitants of England and France in the fourteenth century were homeless.

"My corn and my cattle are reft from me, I am exiled from my takkis and my steddying, the mails and fermes of the grond that I laubyr is hychtit to sic ane price that is fors (necessary) to me and my bairns to drink wattir."[1]

There is additional evidence from the Joe Miller about the squire's charity ale: "If it had been any better, we shouldn't ha' had it, and if it had been any worse, we couldn't ha' drunk it."

France was a vine growing country, but La Bruyère writing in 1689 of the French peasants said:

"They retire at night into their dens, where they live on black bread, water, and roots."

Jean Jacques Rousseau describes a day's excursion with two young ladies from Annecy in 1732. They had brought provisions for a picnic, but had forgotten to bring wine and "they went everywhere about the neighborhood to seek for wine but none could be procured, so pure and sober are the peasants in those parts." (*Confessions of J. J. Rousseau*, Bk. IV.)

All this evidence justifies the assertion that, for most of Christian Europe up to about the eighteenth century, the use of intoxicating liquors was confined to land owners and to the upper classes. Even in what are called "drinking countries" the proletariat had ale or wine only on rare occasions—on feast days when it was given to them through the bounty of landlords. This must have been true of a great numerical majority of the inhabitants—the nameless beggars, slaves and serfs, the landless laborers on the soil, and the landless poor of the towns. Their labor afforded them a bare subsistence in bread alone, they had no surplus that could be converted into strong drink, and they had no money to buy it. The whoop of enthusiasm with which Jack Cade promises his followers more and stronger ale, is satisfactory evidence of their enforced abstinence. Until

[1] Quoted in the *History of the Working Classes in Scotland*, by Thomas Johnston.

the discovery of cheap distilled spirits, all the common people of Christian Europe, numerically by far the largest part of the population, were either not tempted by alcohol at all, or were tempted very rarely on some great feast. Historians commonly obscure the evidence of this fact, but it is a conclusion which in spite of them is warranted by all history.[1]

169. The evidence of history, therefore, exhibits certain parallels and certain contrasts between the proletariats of Asia and of Europe in respect to their drinking habits. In Asia, a non-drinking proletariat has existed from time immemorial. When Europeans first opened India, Burma, and China to trade, abstinence from intoxicating liquors was the unbroken habit of all the poor of those lands.[2]

[1] This common vice of historians is well illustrated in *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation.* By G. G. Coulton. On page 353, he gives the extract I have quoted from Gower, showing that English laborers "drink of water alone." Twenty-five pages further in the same book, at page 378, Coulton prefaces a different extract with the note: "Teetotalism was extremely rare in the Middle Ages, as we might already surmise from the fact that *Drinkwater* and *Boileau* were distinctive and not very common surnames. Even among monks and professional ascetics, only an insignificant fraction avoided intoxicants; for temperance drinks were practically unknown." Observe that the laborers were by far the most numerous part of the population. Latimer's father, a yeoman who had no lands of his own, "tilled so much as kept half a dozen men." Thus, on this farm there were six laborers to one yeoman. Laborers and beggars must have been something like five-sixths of the population of England. Coulton gives contemporary testimony to the fact that their drink was of water alone, and then declares that teetotalism was extremely rare in the Middle Ages. The peasantry were the most numerous class in France; yet in that vine growing country they drank only water. Coulton's "monks and professional ascetics" were Christian priests and therefore professional wine-drinkers. Of course they did not avoid intoxicants.

[2] In respect to the use of intoxicants, Japan is an exception among Asiatic countries. The use of *sake*, a drink brewed or distilled from rice, has been known for centuries, and since the seventeenth century it has been manufactured and used by the Japanese in large quantities. The expected mental and physical superiority of the Japanese over other Asiatics is evident.

In Europe, the abstinence of the proletariat has not been universal or unbroken. Drinking began with the Roman plebeians about the second century B.C., and the habit was carried by them to their European colonies, and was introduced to the non-drinking Gauls whom the Romans conquered and civilized. It continued to be generally indulged in the western provinces of Rome until the Christianization of the empire in the fourth century; but, in the second century, drinking habits declined in the pagan proletariat, and were maintained most faithfully among the zealous Christians. In the fourth century, drink was declining among the Christians, and, after the fall of Rome, at the beginning of the fifth century, drink disappeared altogether from western Christendom with the narrow exceptions of the great nobles of their barbarian conquerers, a few secluded religious houses, a few trading ports, and a few Jews. For a thousand years, the Christian proletariat of Western Europe was entirely a non-drinking proletariat. After the fifteenth century, the exceptions gradually enlarged and the habit of drink gradually spread downward from the upper classes and Jews and merchants of the trading ports, until the eighteenth century, when, in the form of cheap wine, spirits, and malt liquors, it finally reached the landless laborers of the soil and the proletariat of the towns, and became, in that century, the common indulgence of all classes of society in western Christendom.

170. The method whereby drinking strengthens and fortifies the alimentary canal, increases the demand for food, and insures a greater supply, has been explained. It would be expected that the drinking proletariats would show a physical vigor and stamina superior to the non-drinking; would be less afflicted by pestilence and famine; and, in armed conflict, would usually prove themselves superior. The evidence of history exactly fulfills these mathematical expectations. During the whole period when the proletariats of Europe were as abstinent as the proletariats of Asia, famine and pestilence were as common and recurrent in

Europe as in Asia. They ceased in Europe whenever drinking became a common habit of the European proletariat; and they continued in the Asiatic proletariat where the habit of abstinence was unbroken and universal. For more than two thousand years, poverty, taxation, or prohibition forbade drinking to the proletariats of continental Asia; and, for this period, famine and plague have continued endemic in Asia; and continue to this day. The prohibitory legislation of Carthage is mentioned by Plato in the fourth century B.C.; and for centuries afterward North Africa was known as the home of the plague. Plague is noticed by Greek physicians as afflicting Carthage as early as the third century B.C.; and a later one is recorded by Livy in the last half of the second century (Bk. LX Epit.). At this time, Italy was inhabited by a drinking people, and the African plague did not spread to Italy.

Asia and Europe exhibit a general contrast in that the older, larger, and more populous continent has not had a drinking proletariat at any time for the last two thousand years; whilst during the same period Europe has been much of the time without a drinking proletariat but has had intervals when drink was plentiful and cheap, and became the common indulgence of the poor. The chronic recurrence of famine and plague during all this period in the Asiatic proletariat, exactly meets the expectation of mathematical law; and it would be expected that Europe would be afflicted by the same calamities whilst Europe had a non-drinking proletariat and would escape them when it had a drinking proletariat. The evidence of history exactly accords with this expectation.

171. It is convenient to begin with Italy, whose arms gradually conquered and civilized the ancient world, and whose history has been recorded with a care that enables the student to trace with exactness the correspondence between the drinking habits of the poor and their immunity from pestilence and famine. The earliest evidence is found in Livy's history of Rome and in Plutarch's *Lives*. The

famines and pestilences recorded by them are shown in the following table:

Famines and dearth:

Y. R. 246	Livy,	II 9
263		II 34
301		III 32
315		IV 12
345		IV 52

Pestilence:

Y. R. 112	B.C. 640	Livy,	I 31
290	464		III 6
300	454		III 32
317	437		IV 21, 25
321	433		IV 30
341	413		IV 52
353	401		V 13, 14
361	393		V 48
388	366		VII 1
442	349		IX 28
457	295		X 31
460	292		Epit. XI
541	213		XXV 26
543	211		XXVII 23
548	206		XXVIII 46
563	191		XXXVII 23
571	182		XL 19
576	177		XLI 21

Besides the pestilences mentioned by Livy, four are recorded by Plutarch in the lives respectively of Romulus, Numa, Coriolanus, and Camillus. But neither Livy nor Plutarch records any Italian pestilence after 176 B.C. Livy mentions an African pestilence 126 B.C. (Bk. LX, Epit.). But this did not spread into Italy, which was then inhabited by a drinking people.

Accordingly, the period covered by both the famines and the pestilences of Roman and Italian history is the period when the allotments of land to the Roman plebeians were so small that the annual harvest sufficed for food alone and

yielded no surplus exchangeable for drink. After the second Punic War and the conquest of Italy, the land-holdings of Roman farmers notably increased; wine was cheap and plentiful, and the habit of drinking spread to the common people.[1] As the use of wine became common and universal, pestilences departed, and did not again visit Italy until the system of farming by slave-labor had repeopled Italian soil with a rationed, non-drinking proletariat—usually of alien non-drinking ancestry. Even in the last pestilence recorded by Livy it is said "the slaves especially perished." Plutarch, who mentions four pestilences in early Roman history, mentions none in writing the lives of the two Catos, or of the Gracchi, or of Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Antony, or Cæsar, all covering the period when the Roman commons drank wine.

172. Italy enjoyed immunity from pestilence for about two hundred and fifty years. Its visitations, which ceased when wine was cheap and plentiful, and in common use by

[1] When Horace wrote in the first century B.C., wine was abundant and cheap in Italy. In four books of Horace there are 103 odes, of which 37 or more than one-third contain allusions to wine. Two of these are devoted to the praise of wine, and another alludes to his "cheap Sabine wine" showing that it was no imported luxury, but was produced on Italian soil and near to Rome. In the twenty-first ode of the first Book, Horace glories in the fact that famine and pestilence have been driven from the Roman people, and the Emperor Cæsar to the Persians and the Britons. He awards the praise for this to Apollo, but the evidence is that it should rather have been given to Bacchus.

The difference which the Bible relates between the vegetarian diet of Cain and the fleshly sacrifices of Abel has distinguished for many ages the characteristic religious sacrifices of Asia and Europe. Flesh and wine go together as the customary parts of a generous diet and a civilized proletariat which has one, will not be long without the other. The characteristic religions of Asia have forbidden both; and the Asiatic proletariats for some millennia have followed the vegetarian diet and sacrifices of Cain. Every European civilization followed Abel, ate flesh at their religious feasts, and drank wine before their altars. Wine could not be omitted from the sacraments of Numa or Jesus, and if flesh were omitted it was from poverty rather than from religious prohibition. Flesh and wine, meat and drink, beef and beer, have ever been asso-

the plebeians and slaves, began again when Rome and Italy were again inhabited by a rationed non-drinking proletariat. Pestilence is again recorded in Rome in the reign of Nero, 68 A.D. (Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. XVI, Chap. XIII; Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, XXXIX). But the disease in the first century A.D. was of less severity and of much less frequency than had been the case with the visitations recorded before the second century B.C.

In the first century A.D., the character of the Roman Italian population was rapidly changing. In the first century B.C., the dominion of the Roman people had extended over the entire Italian peninsula and Cisalpine Gaul. Colonies were continuously going forth and settling new lands, a free peasantry was found everywhere, the size of farms had increased, and the annual produce of their fields yielded drink as well as food to the cultivators of the soil. Italy was famous for the extent of its vineyards and the abundance of wine. Augustus inaugurated the regular

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ciated together by Europeans as the necessary elements of an abundant and generous diet, to be taken in celebration of the goodness of God and in praise of His bounty. They have formed the Sunday dinner of all Christians who could afford them from time immemorial. They have been celebrated in Christian hymns. "Bring me flesh, and bring me wine" was sung in the Christmas Carol of good King Wenceslas. So the hymn "Beulah Land":

> "I've reached the land of corn and wine
> And all its riches fully mine."

The habitual association of meat and drink in a generous diet, so often shown by their common indulgence together, is receiving additional testimony by the plain tendency of Americans to avoid meat since they abandoned the indulgence in drink. Since prohibition, the American dietary has already shown a marked change. The consumption of meat per capita has greatly decreased. In the cities one notices that the chop house has been displaced by chop suey, and that the character of old time eating houses, where meat and drink was served, has changed to a multitude of pastry shops and cafeterias where the patrons serve themselves with an Asiatic, and plague provoking, diet of unfermented starch and sugar.

distribution of corn to the proletariat of Rome, and this practice continued unbroken under subsequent emperors. The rations of the city population did not include wine, but the free distributions of corn impaired the natural market of the small Italian farmer. Gradually the soil of Italy passed from the hands of a free peasantry, and was consolidated into great estates which were owned by millionaires and tilled by slave labor. Most of the slaves were descended from slaves of foreign extraction, and the servile rations of ancestors and descendants did not include wine. They were more prolific than the Italians of ingenuous birth and ancestry, and rapidly outnumbered them; so that, by the reign of Hadrian, the greater part of the inhabitants of Italy again consisted of a non-drinking proletariat descended from non-drinking progenitors. This continued to be the character of the Italian pagan population during the second and third centuries A.D.;[1] and from this time the regular visitations of the plague begin anew. After Nero, pestilence is recorded again in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, A.D., 167; Commodus, A.D. 187; and in the middle of the third century, from the year 250 A.D. to the year 265 A.D. a great plague swept not only Italy, but all the provinces of the Roman empire. For some time, five thousand persons died daily in Rome; many towns were entirely depopulated, and from the register of citizens who received the distribution of corn at Alexandria, Gibbon computes that more than one half of its population had perished. "And could we venture to

[1] From an examination of the names of workmen and membership rolls of laborers' guilds in the second century of the empire, Frank concludes that only about 15–20 per cent were free born, and 80–85 per cent slaves and ex-slaves. Of 1854 occurrences of the names of workmen only 65 are demonstrably free born citizens. (*Economic History of Rome*, Chap. XV.) Frank is at a loss to explain what became of the poor free stock of Rome. But it is evident that for two centuries they had competed with the superior fecundity of Greeks and Syrians under conditions of nearly equal rationing. In this competition the Romans, of higher nervous organization and therefore less prolific, would be badly beaten and would soon disappear.

extend the analogy to the other provinces, we might suspect that war, pestilence, and famine had consumed, in a few years, the moiety of the human species." (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. X).

173. Following this great visitation, there is another interval of about a century and a quarter during which there is recorded no general pestilence afflicting all the provinces of the empire. This is the period during which the empire changed from pagan to Christian; and therefore (it may be inferred) from a non-drinking to a drinking proletariat. The religions of Numa and Jesus alike taught their followers the religious use of wine in the celebration of their solemnities. Bread and wine were the necessary elements of the holy sacrifices of Numa and of the Holy Eucharist of the Christians.

But in the third century the pagans had long departed from the religion of Numa. In the Augustan age, the upper classes began to consider the worship and usages of their forefathers as merely relics of an ignorant and superstitious past, and gradually forsook them in favor of Greek philosophy. In the period of the Antonines (second century A.D.) the change was complete, and hardly any trace of the ancient religious usages could be found in any class of society. The teachings of Epicurus, Plato, Zeno, informed the minds, and divided the allegiance of the polite and cultured, who contemplated the aspects of life and death with philosophical calm rather than religious fervor. The lower classes of Italy, whether in town or country, were universally rationed, and most of them were descended from alien blood, ignorant alike of the name and the worship of Numa. The holy rites and sacrifices of an earlier age had disappeared, and the revivals and supplications that had once brought throngs of the poor to the pagan temples to drink libations of wine served by the priests at pagan altars were now unknown. Maximin, the barbarian peasant of Thrace who attained the imperial throne in 235 A.D., plundered all the ancient pagan temples, and the revenue intended to meet the cost of the

religious feasts of the multitude was confiscated into the imperial treasury. It must be concluded, therefore, that, among all the proletariat which was still pagan, the use of wine had at this time nearly or wholly ceased. Poverty, famine, confiscation and invasion had afflicted the population of every province of the empire. Their cumulative effect must have deprived all the proletariat of profane indulgence in wine. Irreligion and the plunder of the pagan temples together stopped the religious indulgence.

174. The irreligion of the second century was succeeded by Mithraism, the Syrian worship of the sun. Septimius Severus (193 A.D.–211 A.D.), the African, who had learned Latin as a foreign tongue, married Julia Domna, daughter of an aristocratic family of Emesa, Syria. She converted him to the Syrian sun-worship, and, during the third century, this became the official religion of the court. Severus built at Rome the splendid temple called (from its seven stories) the "Septizonium," and dedicated it to the sun and moon. All four emperors of this dynasty were devoted to Mithraism. It spread throughout the army, and was carried by the legions to every European province. Contemporaneous Christian writers mention it, and in modern times caves devoted to its worship have been found in the remotest provinces of the empire.

The Roman Republic had never known religious persecution and the Roman empire had never had a state religion. Except for the persecution of a single provocative sect (the Christians) all religions had, up to the end of the second century, received imperial protection and freedom of worship had been the established and unbroken policy of Rome. It was Mithraism that first broke with the long tradition of religious freedom and diversity, and sought to become a state religion, to be imposed by imperial power and by imperial persecution upon all the imperial subjects. Elagabalus (218–222) proclaimed the Syrian sun-god the chief deity in Rome, and proposed to convert the whole Roman empire to the worship of Mithra. Aurelian (270–275) a

fanatical sun-worshipper, attempted to carry out this proposal. He fought and triumphed under the sun-god, reconquered the lost provinces of Gaul, Spain, Britain, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, and, in gratitude for his victories, instituted officially the cult of *Sol invictus*, and proclaimed Latinized Mithraism as the state religion.[1] At the same time, he inaugurated a new and vigorous persecution of the Christians (the eighth persecution.)

Mithraism was a typical Asiatic religion, having all the characteristics necessary to attract and hold the superstitious veneration of the multitude of low nervous organizations whom its priests could rule and plunder. It had seven religious orders or castes marked by strange costumes, masks, antics and gestures; a visible object of adoration; an imposing ceremonial, and complicated liturgy; sacred names and mysteries; bloody rites in which there was a touch of phallic worship; and probably human sacrifice. Its ceremonial, liturgy, mysteries, prayers and sacrifices were all for the initiate, the august hierarchy of those who had passed through all the seven grades, and who, in their corporate capacity, stood ever between the faithful and their God. Even if the Mithraic sacrifice included wine (which is doubtful), its religious use would have been denied to the multitude.

175. Thus the religious conflict of the second and third centuries was not between Numa and Jesus—the old religion

[1] "A considerable portion of his oriental spoils was consecrated to the gods of Rome; the Capitol and every other temple, glittered with the offerings of his ostentatious piety; and the temple of the Sun alone received above fifteen thousand pounds of gold. This last was a magnificent structure, erected by the emperor on the side of the Quirinal hill, and dedicated, soon after the triumph, to that deity whom Aurelian adored as the parent of his life and fortunes. His mother had been an inferior priestess in a chapel of the Sun; a peculiar devotion to the god of Light was a sentiment which the fortunate peasant imbibed in his infancy; and every step of his elevation, every victory of his reign, fortified superstition by gratitude." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XI.)

and the new. It was between two new religions—Mithraism which repudiated Numa, substituted blood for wine in its sacrament, and shut out the multitude from the immediate fellowship of God; and Christianity, which preserved and continued the ancient sacrament of bread and wine, and required all the faithful to partake religiously and frequently of both. Christians had the only drinking religion; in the second century, the only religious fervor; and, in the third century, the only religion which required its sacraments to be administered equally to all the laity.

All of the third century was occupied with the religious conflict between these two opposing groups. The imperial power was exerted wholly in favor of the non-drinking group of sun-worshippers, whose bloody sacrifices were made for them by a close hierarchy of initiated priests. Opposed to them, was the drinking group of fervent Christians, every one of whom in weekly communion or oftener broke bread and drank wine together with religious zeal. "Wine-bibber" was the epithet applied to Jesus by the Pharisees. With wine He had celebrated the wedding at Cana, with wine He celebrated the Passover with His disciples, and from His first miracle to His last supper the name of Jesus was indissolubly linked in all the gospels with the use and commendation of wine. Instead of the religious butchery of beasts that turned the holy rites of Moses and Mithra into a shambles, the Christians had received from the gospel of Jesus a new and purer sacrament. *Bread* was the flesh and *wine* the blood of His sacrifice. These were the necessary elements of His holy communion, and piety enforced their faithful and frequent use. No Christian could, under pain of excommunication, refuse to break bread and drink wine with his fellow Christians. Religious zeal, stronger than profane indulgence, preserved among all the Christian group of the third century the drinking habits that the pagan proletariat had abandoned; and there can be no doubt that, amid the invasions and disorders of the middle of that century, only the fervent Christians, saved by their religion,

continued in holy communion the faithful and frequent use of wine. The Christian zeal that forbade them to partake of pagan sacrifices, accept pagan rations, or obey pagan decrees, sustained them through ten persecutions, encouraged them to endure martyrdom, and, leaving them unstained by the bloody rites of Mithra, blessed their lips with the purer cup that was the distinguishing symbol of their holy communion.

176. The pestilence which raged from 250–265 A.D. was the last great pagan plague. After that visitation Christians and pagans changed places. The non-drinking proletariat of the irreligious pagans was swept away in such numbers that it never again counted a majority of the inhabitants of the empire. The drinking proletariat of the religious Christians enjoyed an immunity from plague that more than made up for their loss by persecutions. In the last quarter of the third century, and in the first decade of the fourth, the Christians suffered their ninth and tenth persecutions—the last so much more terrible than any which had preceded it that it was often afterwards called "*The* Persecution." But it is the peculiarity of these last persecutions that instead of being engendered from the complaints of the populace below, they seem to be inspired altogether by the religious zeal, the hatred or the fears of the rulers above. It was an era when the domestic morals and marriage customs of the pagans were low, and of the Christians high; and the Christians enjoyed the only favorable selection of mothers. Private wealth was rapidly accumulating in their hands alone; and those Christians who remained poor or enslaved were saved from vice by their faith, and were aided in their sacraments by their wealthier brethren. At the beginning of the fourth century, the sect of Christian wine-drinkers had become so numerous and so powerful as to withstand the whole of the imperial power concentrated against it by Diocletian. Persecution could not impair its numbers as much as plague had impaired the numbers of the pagans; and the empire became Christian.

Following the Christianization of the empire under Constantine, some new factors appeared. Instead of being persecuted, the Christian Church was now enthroned; a powerful priesthood and hierarchy exercised temporal authority; the burden of taxation by state and Church was enormously increased, and the poverty of the laity became universal. In this general impoverishment of all classes of the Christian empire, religious and profane indulgence in drink must have been generally abandoned by the mass of the imperial subjects, and gradually limited to the tax gatherers and dignitaries of Church and State. History records a marked and universal change in the administration of the Eucharist. For the first three centuries, all the Christian laity partook of bread and wine together in Holy Communion, never less than once a week, on the Lord's Day, and in nearly all parts of the empire much oftener. They commonly received the bread and wine on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays throughout the year; to which must be added the anniversary festivals of the martyrs; and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, which were but one continued festival. In some places, they received the communion every day. St. Cyprian (A.D. 250) construed the petition in the Lord's prayer "Give us this day our daily bread" as a petition to be daily fed with the flesh of Christ in the Eucharist which was the bread of life. In another place, he exhorts the martyrs to prepare themselves for the fight of persecution, considering that they therefore drink the cup of Christ's blood every day, that they may be able to shed their blood for Christ. In the first and second centuries, the Eucharist was often called the daily sacrifice for the same reason that the Lord's prayer was called the daily prayer because they were both daily celebrated at the altar. So that the earliest Christians broke bread and drank wine together every day.

177. A reversal as remarkable as that already noticed in the Christian selection of mothers in the fourth century may be observed in the Christian habit of drink. Bread

and wine were no longer offered to the laity. The daily and weekly communion of the Christian proletariat ceased altogether. St. Chrysostom (end of the fourth century) complained that many "partake of this sacrifice only once a year." St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan in the same century, exclaims "why dost thou receive it once a year only as the Greeks are used to do in the East?" The new practice of infrequent communion by the laity became firmly established in the fourth century and soon was sanctioned by the Church. In the year 506 A.D., it was determined in the Council of Agde that the laity might receive the Eucharist only three times a year at the festivals Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost; and a decree of like purpose was made by the third Council of Tours in 813. And, whereas, in the first three centuries, those Christians who did not receive the communion on every Lord's day were excommunicated, the only penalty named by the Councils for failure to receive communion three times a year was the punishment of not being reputed Catholic Christians. Finally, in the thirteenth century, the Council of Lateran, under Innocent III, made it the duty of the laity to communicate only once a year. While this change was taking place in respect to the communions of the laity, it long continued to be the custom for the clergy to communicate frequently, sometimes daily, but always as often as every Lord's Day and on certain other solemn festivals. Hence, was gradually established, after the third century, the custom of the priest alone to receive the Eucharist, without any other communicants among the laity.[1]

The reversal in the drinking habits of the Christian proletariat began in the fourth century, and may be reckoned from the reign of Constantine, when persecution ceased and the empire became Christian. The faithful and frequent use of wine in Holy Communion ceased, and so likewise did

[1] An authoritative statement of the historical evidence with quotations from the Christian Fathers and Councils will be found in Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Bk. XV, Chap. IX.

its profane indulgence. From the time of Constantine's reign, the demands of state and Church annually consumed the entire surplus of the annual produce of labor; and all those who were not of the imperial or ecclesiastical establishments, were rendered utterly destitute. The taxation of the empire, and the destitution of the proletariat became Asiatic together, and the Christian laity had no annual surplus of food for conversion into drink. Famine and pestilence followed. Plague appeared with Asiatic frequency and virulence.

A.D. 383–384	.....	Plague in Italy and Syria.
407–408	.....	" throughout Europe.
445–450	.....	" in all parts of the world.
467	.....	" in Italy and Europe.
542–594	.....	" everywhere.

This last, one of the greatest plagues of all times, was accompanied by universal famine. In Italy, in the narrow region of Picenum alone, fifty thousand laborers perished. In other provinces, the starving population ate acorns and dug roots for food, and many cases of cannibalism were reported. The plague afflicted Europe for fifty-two years. It occurred after the Christian laity had, for about two hundred years, ceased to drink wine, and it acquainted Christians for the first time with the true bubonic plague of the non-drinking proletariats of Asia.[1]

It was in religious houses that the daily cup of wine in the

[1] Until this great plague of fifty years during the sixth century, a Christian Renaissance had seemed possible. Belisarius, the Thracian peasant, who was Justinian's greatest general, reconquered many of the lost provinces and Constantinople became again the seat of a mighty empire. But from this plague, the Christians of the East were utterly impotent and could no longer defend their frontiers against corporeal or spiritual invasion. After the sixth century, they suffered the raids and conquests of a succession of obscure Asiatics—Arabs, Avars, Bulgars, Mongols, Slavs, and Turks, of wild and barbarous origin, who seized the richest cities and provinces of the empire, and finally the capital itself. There were no pagans so poor, weak, ignorant, undisciplined or ill-armed that Christians could cope with them. A change which might have required centuries was accomplished in a life-time.

daily sacrament of Holy Communion was religiously continued, and the general immunity of religious houses is noticed by historians.

178. From the sixth to the tenth century A.D., most of the ancient Christian population of western Europe disappeared, and the ancient provinces of Rome were invaded and repeopled by new races of newly converted barbarians from the north. The land was reforested; cultivation, including the cultivation of the vine, ceased; the sparse population was miserably fed on vetches, roots, and even the bark of trees, its numbers reduced by incessant warfare and kept down by famine, so that the human fuel, necessary for the conflagration of plague, was scarce. Until the thirteenth century, whole regions of western Europe were unpeopled altogether. By the thirteenth century, cities began to grow at various ports and harbors, commerce began to revive, forests began to be cleared, the cultivation of the soil began anew, the invasions of non-Christian peoples ceased, and the natural increase of the Christian population more than kept pace with the increased area of production. The Christian proletariat, no longer killed by warfare, pressed hardly

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"The expectation that Justinian would be able to re-establish the Roman power was entertained by many, and not without reasonable grounds, at the time of his accession to the throne; but, before his death, the delusion was utterly dissipated. The changes of centuries passed in rapid succession before the eyes of one generation. The life of Belisarius, either in its reality or its romantic form, has typified his age. In his early youth, the world was populous and wealthy, the empire rich and powerful. He conquered extensive realms and mighty nations, and led kings captive to the footstool of Justinian, the lawgiver of civilization. Old age arrived; Belisarius sank into the grave suspected and impoverished by his feeble and ungrateful master, and the world, from the banks of the Euphrates to those of the Tagus, presented the awful spectacle of famine and plague, of ruined cities, and of nations on the brink of extermination. The impression on the hearts of men was profound. Fragments of Gothic poetry, legends of Persian literature, and the fate of Belisarius himself, still indicate the eager attention with which this period was long regarded." (Finlay, *Greece Under the Romans*, Chap. II, Sect. 12.)

on the means of subsistence, its numbers kept down by famine alone. All the landless poor, in town or country, had barely the bread necessary to sustain life, were without any surplus convertible into drink, and drank only water. Europe was again peopled with a non-drinking proletariat, descended from non-drinking ancestors. The expected plague appeared. In the fourteenth century, the Black Death covered Europe, almost depopulating many of the towns and vast regions of the country. From this time, plague followed plague with Asiatic frequency and virulence. Its visitations were repeated in the fifteenth century, the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. In the last half of the seventeenth century it began to recede; and the course of its retreat may be traced exactly by the increase of drinking habits among the poor. London was afflicted by a great plague in 1664–1665. In 1690, the tax on spirits was taken off, distilleries multiplied, cheap gin, brandy and rum were freely sold to the lowest of the population, drink became the universal habit of the English poor, and from that time neither London nor England has suffered another visitation of the plague. At the end of the seventeenth century, the French peasantry still drank water; and a third of their number were carried away by famine and plague in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It was the agricultural peasantry who lived on black bread, water, and roots; and it was these that were killed by plague. Paris, in this age, was filled with wine shops, drink was cheap and abundant, and Paris escaped the visitation. Plague in Europe lingered longest where the destitution of the proletariat reduced them to the food necessary for the bare sustinence of life and thus deprived them of drink—in Sicily,[1] in Poland, on the banks of the Volga. It lingered

[1] "The Sicilians drafted for the army in 1915 were so unaccustomed to eating the meat of the army rations that compulsion had in many cases to be applied." (Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, Chap. XIV.)

If their meagre diet did not include meat in 1915, it may be inferred that two centuries earlier it did not include wine.

longer in Moslem than in Christian Europe; and Constantinople where poverty was seconded by religious prohibition continued to the last half of the nineteenth century to suffer the same pestilence that had been driven from the drinking capitals of Christian Europe a century or two centuries before.

179. The inferences drawn from the foregoing evidence are supported by the universal testimony of historians as to the class of people which are most afflicted. Plague is always worst among the poor. Every historian who goes into details or attempts to separate its victims by classes, agrees that it is the rationed poor who suffer most and die the fastest. Plague smote the rationed army of Sennacherib; and, for twenty-five centuries, the Asiatic proletariat which, in view of Asiatic taxation may be reckoned a rationed proletariat, has been continuously afflicted. In Athens, Thucydides records the mortalit of common people, slaves, hoplites, and rowers in the galleys. In Rome, before the growth of a rationed free population, Livy pointed to the especial mortality of the slaves; when the free citizens of Rome are rationed, Tacitus notices the mortality of slaves and plebeians. In the third century, when the Christians, through a favorable selection of mothers were acquiring most of the wealth of the empire, and the pagan temples had been plundered, the pagan poor suffered most. In the reign of Justinian, when all the empire was Christian, the mortality of laborers was the greatest; most of the wealth that escaped government confiscation was in the possession of the Church—and the immunity of religious houses was especially noticed. In the Black Death of the fourteenth century, the mortality among the landless agricultural laborers of England destroyed the proportion which had theretofore been maintained between the number of laborers and their masters. The scarcity of workmen was so great that Parliament enacted the Statute of Laborers to regulate their wages. The Great Plague of London in 1664–1665 was so destructive among the poor as to gain the name of the

"Poors' Plague." In all its plagues for five centuries—the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth —Christian Europe had a drinking aristocracy; and in all these centuries the drinking aristocracy was least, the non-drinking proletariat most afflicted by the plague. And this cannot be attributed to a difference in personal or domiciliary cleanliness.

The habitations and persons of the rich were as uniformly dirty as those of the poor. When Europe was attacked by syphilis this disease poisoned and slew the rich in greater numbers than the poor. Neither was there a marked change in the cleanliness of the proletariat, contemporaneously with the departure of the plague. Modern sanitation was as unknown in the eighteenth century as it had been in the seventeenth, the sixteenth, or the fifteenth. The habits of the poor as to their persons and dwellings remained unchanged in each of these centuries. The common use of cheap and washable cotton cloths for personal wear did not begin until more than a century after the disappearance of the plague. At every visitation of the plague the difference between the stricken and the unstricken population was a difference of drinking habits, and of drinking habits alone. The rich, accustomed to drinking freely were comparatively immune; the proletariat, deprived of drink by destitution, were universally stricken. A similar fact marks the plague's attacks upon the different proletariat groups. The drinking proletariats were immune, the non-drinking proletariats succumbed. This has been the world's history as far back as history goes.[1]

[1] Itch was so prevalent among the unwashed Americans of Revolutionary days that Washington, an aristocrat by birth and breeding, refused to shake hands with the common people at his receptions, lest he should take it. Yet the American colonials and frontiersmen who avoided soap and water, drank freely and were immune from plague.

The immunity was not gained until drinking habits were universal. The earliest settlers in Virginia from 1619–1624 were attacked by the "Great Sickness," and 75 or 80% of the laborers that reached the colony in this period died before the expiration of the first year. Out of five

180. Taxation and rations are the most effective inhibitions of intoxicants. An excise levied on drink, taxes only the surplus of the people over and above their needs for food; but non-drinking proletariats must pay a food tax out of their necessities. It is this that reduces them to famine, plague and impotence, and excites the astonishment of historians at the burden of taxation which an oppressed people will bear without resistance. Wherever history repeats the bitter cry of a wretched population ground under the cruel heel of a merciless tax-gatherer, a non-drinking proletariat may be inferred. Rations have a like effect. All the product of labor is taken away, and only enough given back to afford the laborer a bare subsistence. It is, accordingly, in the overtaxed and underrationed proletariats of Asia, Africa, and Byzantium that history finds the perpetual prohibition of drink with the resulting poverty, famine, and plague. The free proletariats of early Rome and of Christian Europe, unrationed and untaxed or lightly taxed, after the abolition of serfdom, lacked drink only as long as the area which they tilled was enough to provide them only with food. As soon as they began to produce and retain a surplus, not taken away from them in rent or taxes, they converted this surplus into drink and changed from a non-drinking to a drinking proletariat. This is the most important change which rising civilizations witness, because it affects that class of the population which is always most numerous and most prolific, and from which the augmented nervous organizations of the future must always be recruited. It makes this class immune from plague, and its morals change from plague moral to drink moral.

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thousand immigrants only two hundred remained at the end of five years. The change from plague to health came when drink became cheap and plentiful, and was included in the laborer's keep. Washington allows for his gardener, "Four dollars at Christmas with which he may be drunk for four days and four nights; two dollars at Easter to effect a similar purpose; two dollars at Whitsuntide to be drunk for two days; a dram in the morning and a drink of grog at dinner at noon." (Ford, *The True George Washington*, Chap. VI.)

PLAGUE MORAL is universal in all non-drinking proletariats, perpetually scourged by recurrent visitations of famine and pestilence, and its characteristics, which are always the same and easily discernible, are settled by mathematical law. A country depopulated by plague is soonest repeopled by its most prolific women, of low nervous organization, who bear easily children with small heads. The result of periodical visitations, such as afflict the non-drinking proletariats of Asia, is to make the whole body of the common people servile and fungible, so that posterity descends only from the most prolific, augmented nervous organizations cannot survive, and soon cease to appear, intellect departs from the poor, genius is unknown, and countless millions for countless ages live, bear, and die without rise, without fall, without change of mentality, each generation exactly what its ancestors were and what its posterity will be. Never possessed of too much food, and often forced to live on the equal division of too little, they learn eventually to maintain their fecundity on a quantity of food which to the inhabitants of drinking nations seems entirely incredible. A few beans, a handful of meal, a little pulse, or rice, enables mortals to live, mate, and maintain their numbers after a non-drinking group has endured and survived for many ages the selective influences of famine and plague.[1]

[1] Modern writers, accustomed to observe the diet of drinking proletariats, are prone to doubt or reject the figures of population or taxation given by ancient historians, on the ground that it is impossible to believe that the lives of mankind could be sustained upon so little. Thus, Ferrero rejects the figure 117,319 citizens of Rome in 459 B.C. which is given by Livy (III, 24), on the ground that a population of over one thousand inhabitants to the square mile could not possibly have subsisted, no matter how poor, at a time when Rome lived entirely on the produce of the land. Similarly, Moreland doubts the statement that in India the peasants paid three-fourths, sometimes nine-tenths to the nobles, because he cannot conceive of a form of agriculture in which producers could live on so small a proportion as one-tenth of the gross produce of their holdings. But their doubts are founded on a wrong standard, derived from the dietary habits of drinking proletariats. The

Their productivity gradually corresponds. A dense population of low nervous organization toils incessantly with primitive tools in the cultivation of a land-area that does not exceed an acre to each husbandman, surrenders a large part of the annual produce to their drinking overlords, and manages on the scant remainder to live and multiply until their numbers are again reduced by the next plague. Neither invention, nor enterprise, nor initiative, nor

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correct standard will be found in the story of Ruth gleaning after Boaz, and in the poor widow's handful of meal and cruse of oil.

All the evidence tends to confirm Livy's figures as to the number of the Roman plebeians in the fifth century B.C. The Roman proletariat of that age was poor, prolific, cowardly, superstitious, servile, idolatrous, ignorant, impotent, and unwarlike. Three times they suffered famine and six times they were devastated by pestilence in the hundred years. From the revolt against the Tarquins to the invasion of the Gauls, Rome was indebted for its safety to the valor of its drinking patricians. The non-drinking plebeians repeatedly ran away from other non-drinking troops, and their patrician masters made soldiers of them only by the severe process of making them fear their officers more than the enemy. A patrician general might and did punish cowardice in his foot-soldiers by decimation, i.e. by having every tenth man of the cowardly or mutinous troops beaten to death by clubs. A great gulf separated the Roman plebeians from their wine-drinking patrician masters. There is the greatest possible difference between them and their own wine-drinking descendants of three or four centuries later. In short, they betray all the Asiatic characteristics of a non-drinking proletariat. In India, Moreland shows a population of 700 to the square mile, living on the produce of agricultural labor alone, and surrendering more than half of it to landlords, nobles, or rulers. The scale of Roman taxation in the fifth century B.C. was not of Asiatic severity and there appears to be no reason to doubt that (allowing for frequent famine and plague) a prolific proletariat might attain a population of one thousand to the square mile.

In eighteenth century Spain, Casanova noted that there were no good inns, but only miserable dens scarce good enough for the muleteers, who made their beds beside the animals. No food was furnished by the inn-keepers, and it was necessary to search the entire village to procure it. The poor lived on almost nothing.

"In no country in Europe do the lower orders live so contentedly on a very little as in Spain. Two ounces of white bread, a handful of roast chestnuts or acorns (called *bellotas* in Spanish) suffice to keep a Spaniard for a day." (*Memoirs of Casanova*, Vol. XI, Chap. III.)

independence, nor valor, nor resistance, nor freedom are known, prized, sought, or attained by the groups of non-drinking proletariats. Even their industry and thrift are but the corporeal semblance of the spiritual reality of these virtues in drinking groups. Apparently leading lives of incessant toil, actually their activities are of the body alone; their minds are always idle. And their thrift is limited to the span of a single life; the national wealth which grows by handing down to the mortals of future generations some part of the saved product of their ancestors' labor is unknown. Although they consume little, they produce nothing more than they consume, and each generation is as poor as its progenitors.[1]

181. DRINK MORAL has characteristics just the opposite of plague moral. Drink has been accused of numbering as many victims as plague; but any comparison of their corporeal destructiveness should be supplemented by an equal comparison of their spiritual effects. The group which has drink has always enough to eat and more, for drink is made

[1] I have given the consequences which follow with mathematical certainty the successive visitations of plague on successive generations. The immediate effects of a single visitation are most interestingly described by Thucydides:

"There were other and worse forms of lawlessness which the plague introduced at Athens. Men who had hitherto concealed what they took pleasure in now grow bolder. For, seeing the sudden change,—how the rich died in a moment, and those who had nothing immediately inherited their property,—they reflected that life and riches were alike transitory, and they resolved to enjoy themselves while they could, and to think only of pleasure. Who would be willing to sacrifice himself to the law of honour when he knew not whether he would ever live to be held in honour? The pleasure of the moment and any sort of thing which conduced to it took the place both of honour and of expediency. No fear of gods or law of man deterred a criminal. Those who saw all perishing alike, thought that the worship or neglect of the Gods made no difference. For offences against human law no punishment was to be feared; no one would live long enough to be called to account. Already a far heavier sentence had been passed and was hanging over a man's head; before that fell why should he not take a little pleasure?" (*Thucydides*, II, 57.)

from the surplus of food. Instead of sweeping a country with recurrent waves of pestilence, drink is a temptation that is daily, perennially, and always present, and that augmented nervous organizations resist better than low nervous organizations; so that instead of always repeopling a country with the offspring of its most prolific women, those who bear children with smaller heads, drink exalts the virtue of temperance and gives all its advantages to those higher nervous organizations who best resist temptation. Drinking groups are unrationed, and therefore unequally fed. Equal rations promote the survival of the most prolific, whereas unequal rations promote the survival of the better fed. But drinking groups, also, are never taxed as heavily as they can bear. The fact that they drink, means that government has left in the hands of mortals more food than is necessary for bare subsistence, and its surplus accordingly is convertible into drink. In such a proletariat, each mortal's share in this surplus is unequal, is not fixed by rations or taxation, but is apportioned by wages which he can exchange for food and drink. In non-drinking proletariats, the wages of labor are standardized by the cost of food alone; in drinking proletariats by the cost of food and drink. Accordingly, each laborer of the drinking group has in his daily or weekly wages a small surplus which he may drink or save as he chooses. The standard of wages is fixed by the many who drink, and the surplus is saved by the few who do not. Abstinence or temperance accordingly, give to the laborer of the drinking proletariat a means of acquiring and accumulating wealth which, in non-drinking proletariats, does not exist.[1]

[1] When Benjamin Franklin worked as a printer in London the wages of the pressmen allowed them four or five shillings a week for drink besides their necessities for food. By simply abstaining from drink Franklin was able to save this sum. In a non-drinking proletariat, wages would have been standardized on the necessity for food alone and Franklin's abstinence would have gained him nothing. I copy the anecdote from his autobiography.

"We had an alehouse boy who attended always in the house to supply

The evils of intemperance, poverty, and hunger, are to be avoided by self-restraint, and self-denial. The pleasure of the moment, irresistibly attractive in groups threatened by plague, must be resisted by groups which are tempted by drink. Not all will resist; but those who do not must fall behind, while those who do will forge ahead, and a continuous subtraction of the former and an increase of the latter changes and improves the character of posterity. It is the universal evidence of history that the proletariat with

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the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast, with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he suppos'd, to drink *strong* beer, that he might be *strong* to labor. I endeavored to convince him that the bodily strength afforded by beer could only be in proportion to the grain of flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread; and therefore if he would eat that with a pint of water, it would give him more strength than a quart of beer. He drank on, however, and had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night for that muddling liquor; an expense I was free from. And thus these poor devils keep themselves always under." (Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*.)

R. H. Dana visited a Birmingham factory in 1875 and records the following:

"Some of the laborers looked tired and unhealthy, but there were enough contented, well and strong hands, both men and women, to make one believe that with temperance, a fair amount of industry, and proper preparation of their food at home, they might have been on the average much better off than they were; indeed, I was told that almost all these who were temperate and saving did pretty well and a few became capitalists themselves. This I heard from both employer and employee." (R. H. Dana, *Hospitable England in the Seventies*, Chap. IV, Aug. 9, 1875.)

Thus both Franklin and Dana, one hundred and fifty years apart, testify that the wages of the English proletariat were standardized on a scale which included an allowance for drink over and above the bare necessities for food; and those who did not drink could save. In a non-drinking proletariat, no such testimony could be given. Their wages are standardized on the cost of food alone, abstinence is not voluntary but compulsory, and does not enable the abstinent to save.

plague moral never rises, with drink moral never fails to rise.

182. The intimate relation of private property to drink, and of both to civilization is clear. Private property is possessed in severalty by a multitude of mortal units who may withhold it from each other and from the state, and enjoy, consume, spend, or save it as they choose, each adopting standards of his own according to his feelings or his will. Neither rations nor taxation reduces this multitude to a uniform standard. Of the surplus, which is enjoyed by all, some will be spent in drink, some will by temperance be saved. The temperate owners have an advantage over the others, not slight, uncertain, or speculative, but a real and tremendous advantage over those who cannot resist temptation. Moreover, the advantage is continuous, and cumulative. The temperate families are better off than the intemperate in the first generation, still better off in the second, more yet in the third. The wealth and the spiritual stature of sober groups increase together as long as the traffic in drink is not forbidden, and there are only spiritual barriers to intemperance.

This double advantage is manifest in all groups which history presents for comparison. A survey of such groups shows that it is always the rich who are the first to drink and the last to leave off. Drinking nations are always richer than non-drinking nations; drinking groups richer than non-drinking groups; and the followers of drinking religions richer than the non-drinking religions. Yet in all these drinking groups the greatest advantages accrue to those who drink least; advantages which they do not obtain in non-drinking groups. The stability and endurance of national civilization depends upon the numbers of the drinking group. If this group is but a narrow aristocracy living upon the enforced contribution of a huge proletariat, national civilization must be brief, because such an aristocracy cannot long maintain its intellectual and corporeal ascendancy. If it continues to bear augmented nervous organizations it will be corporeally less prolific with each generation; if it is

corporeally prolific its nervous organization must decline. For national civilization to endure, the aristocracy must be forever recruited from the proletariat.

183. So the history of all the nations having a non-drinking proletariat, is characteristic and alike. The nation retains a fixed spot upon the map, and does not expand; the body of the people does not change; the aristocracy is not recruited from the lower classes; progress is unknown; and national independence is impossible. For ages, they are swept by a succession of hostile invasions, each new conquest bringing in a new ruling class, which exacts from the tillers of the soil the tax which they have been accustomed to pay. Their drinking masters change with successive ages; the proletariat does not change. Taxation deprives it of everything but a bare subsistence; and it has no surplus which it can retain or save or convert into drink. Freedom, which cannot exist without diversity, surplus and property rights, is unknown. A non-drinking proletariat never rises against its oppressors, but awaits helplessly the new invasion and the new war which substitutes new oppressors for the old. It breeds, and increases, and its increase is cut down by famine and plague; and it breeds and increases again, to be again cut down. So its numbers differ from year to year but not from age to age, and in each century or millennium the density of population, the area tilled, the annual produce and the annual tax, all remain about the same, standardized by the food necessary for bare existence, with nothing over for saving or for drink. For thousands of years, such has been the history of the non-drinking proletariats of the Nile, the Ganges, and the Yellow rivers.

For a briefer period, the non-drinking proletariats of Europe had a like history. The first of these was the pagan Gauls, conquered by the drinking Romans under Cæsar. During the three centuries that the Christians included a drinking proletariat, they rose to command the Roman empire. In the fourth century, taxation and destitution deprived them of drink, and, in the next thousand years,

every Christian land was invaded and conquered by a hostile force; most of them more than once. After the fifteenth century, the habit of drinking gradually extended again to the poor of western Christendom, and as the Christian proletariat began to drink, it began to conquer; and in every quarter of the globe, carried the Christian arms to victory over non-drinking proletariats.

Never in the history of the world was drink so abundant, so cheap and so easily available to all classes of the population, including the very poor, as it was in the Dutch and English settlements of North America. These settlers came from a drinking ancestry at home, and transmitted to their American descendants the art of distillation and the habit of drinking; and history presents no more striking contrast than between the drinking proletariat of North America and the non-drinking proletariats of every age and country, including the ancestors of these same Americans. In the non-drinking countries of Asia, a population of three or four hundred millions, repeated three or four times a century, reached a total of perhaps a billion mortals to each century; and many centuries, numbering as many billions of souls, have gone by without improvement of the mass, and without once yielding out of all these billions a solitary genius. In the drinking proletariat of North America, always tempted by cheap rum, gin, and whiskey, a tiny population, numerically insignificant compared to the boundless numbers of Asia, advanced with a rapidity for which history furnishes no parallel, and has been continuously prolific of genius. In this drinking proletariat, were born Franklin (1705) and Lincoln (1809), one hundred years apart, both penniless youths, working at manual labor for low wages, both possessed of an augmented nervous organization never born of any non-drinking proletariat in any age or country, not born to their own race in the many centuries before they were exposed to the temptation of drink.[1]

[1] "The early Puritans of New England were the parents of one-third of the whole white population of the United States as it was in 1834.

History furnishes unbroken testimony to the fact that only the drinking proletariats bear genius.

184. The temptation of human groups by alcohol divides naturally into two historical periods:

First, the period of wine. This extends from the dawn of civilization to about the sixteenth century.

Second, the period of distilled spirits. This begins on the Continent of Europe in the sixteenth century, and extends to the present time.

The historical evidence as to the effect of alcohol on human groups in the earlier or wine drinking period, is abundant and satisfactory. It may be briefly summarized as follows:

I. In the northern hemisphere, alcohol was discovered and, for ages, was used as a beverage; while its use was nearly unknown in the southern hemisphere. Civilization rose only in the northern hemisphere, and not in the southern.

Within the first fifteen years—and there was never afterward any considerable increase from England—we have seen that there came over 21,200 persons or 4000 families. Their descendants were, in 1834, not far from 4,000,000. Each family had multiplied on the average to 1000 souls." (Rhodes, *History of United States*, Vol. III, Chap. XII.)

Prohibition laws are always intended to rule a group of three dimensions, including ancestors and descendants for many generations, but by a universal dishonesty, they are always advocated or defended by pointing to the ill effects of alcohol upon a mortal. History furnishes abundant evidence of its effects upon groups, but this evidence is never cited. There never was a proletariat which had such an abundance of cheap strong drink as the early settlers of America and their descendants for two centuries; and history affords no record of another group in any land or age that grew and increased in numbers and spiritual stature as did this hard-drinking group of American settlers. Americans annually pay lip service to the memory of Franklin and Lincoln and praise the virtues and accomplishments of the group from which they sprang. But all the American pulpit, press, and political parties are united in an obstinate determination to destroy every one of the factors that made possible the birth of a Franklin or a Lincoln. Hence no more American Franklins or Lincolns.

II. In the western hemisphere alcohol and civilization were alike unknown, except among the Aztecs of Mexico, and the Incas of Peru. The ruling caste of Aztecs and Incas drank wine, oppressed the non-drinking proletariat, and enjoyed a short-lived civilization of moderate height.

III. Those parts of the northern hemisphere first attained civilization where alcohol was first used. Certainly from the time of Homer, probably much earlier, alcoholic beverage has been known in the basin of the Mediterranean. From its first discovery to the present day, alcohol and civilization have never been wholly absent from the Mediterranean basin. In those parts of the northern hemisphere where alcohol was for ages unknown, civilization was likewise unknown.

IV. In the Book of Genesis, mankind is described as engulfed in wickedness before the discovery of alcohol. It improves after Noah "began to be an husbandman and planted a vineyard."

V. It was among a nation of wine drinkers that Greek civilization rose, and that the Greek intellect reached its height. The neighboring barbarians were unacquainted with wine except as Greek culture introduced it.

VI. The holy sacrament of bread and wine, without effusion of blood, was taught to the Romans by Numa, and from the time of his reign the Roman patriciate was habituated to the religious use of wine. It extended gradually to the other orders of society, and, finally, in the second century B.C., to the proletariat. The spiritual stature of each order rose as the use of wine extended to that class of Roman society, and the Roman common soldier attained his most marvelous victories after wine became the accustomed drink of the Roman proletariat. No public tax or statutory prohibition ever interfered with the Roman drinking habits. For two centuries, they were in armed conflict with Carthage which had statutory prohibition, and with the Gauls to whom wine was unknown. At the beginning of the Punic and Gallic wars, the issue was doubt-

ful; in the course of two centuries, the arms of the drinking Romans gradually overcame their non-drinking enemies; and, at the end of this period, Carthage and Gaul were both conquered, and the triumph of Rome was complete.

185. VII. Ancient Gaul was inhabited by a European race, of larger stature, whiter skin and of much greater numbers than the Romans, whom they overwhelmed when the Gauls took and sacked Rome, nearly four hundred years before Christ. In this first eruption, the Romans, like the Gauls, had a non-drinking proletariat. As drinking habits spread gradually among the Romans, their military prowess increased, and they enjoyed a series of continuous triumphs over the Gauls. The conquest of Britain, in the first century A.D., ended four hundred years of armed conflict between the drinking Romans and the non-drinking Gauls, during which time the arms of the drinking nation had been carried victoriously from the banks of the Po to the banks of the Tweed. These victories were not won by Europeans over Asiatics or Africans or aborigines; nor by iron over wooden weapons, nor by gun-powder and leaden bullets over bows and arrows. The contestants in all these battles were Europeans, and their weapons were nearly alike. It was simply the triumph of a drinking over a non-drinking people.

VIII. Since their dispersal in the different states of Christian Europe, the Jewish race has celebrated its feasts, and the eve of the Sabbath, with the accompaniment of wine at the family table.[1] The ceremonial drinking of wine

[1] "In view of the fact that it has been the custom during many centuries for Jewish families to make in their homes the wines used in the religious rites connected with the Sabbath observance, the observance of the Passover, and other solemn feasts, the propriety of permitting the continuance of such custom is recognized." (From U. S. Treasury Decisions 2940. Approved October 29, 1919.)

"Where wine is furnished by a rabbi to members of his congregation for use in the home, not more than ten gallons a year may be so furnished for the use of any family." (Regulations 60, U. S. Prohibition Commissioner. Approved January 16, 1920.)

The apostasy of a Christian land is always a dread sight attended with

as a religious rite has been extended to all members of orthodox Jewish families, including their women and children. As there has been almost no admixture of non-Jewish blood, the orthodox Jews of the present day are descended from at least a thousand years of wine drinking ancestors. In this period, the virtue of temperance has become so ingrained, that a Jewish drunkard is almost unknown; although crowded into the Jewish quarters of cities they have successfully resisted famine and plague; and, during all this time, civilization has never entirely deserted the Jews.

IX. From the earliest times to the Roman conquest, northern Gaul and the valley of the Rhine was "dry" and uncivilized. From the Roman conquest to the fifth century A.D., it had alcoholic temptation and civilization. With the fall of the Roman Empire, Gaul was reforested; civilization, commerce and alcohol died together, and, for five centuries, northern France and the Rhine were again "bone dry," and uncivilized. In the tenth century, the cultivation of the vine on the banks of the Rhine began anew, and, as alcoholic temptation gradually spread, civilization gradually rose. A consideration of the history of the Rhine is most illuminating, because, during these periods, it was continuously inhabited by white Europeans. For twenty-five centuries civilization and alcohol, savagery and prohibition were found together.

X. The Arabs, as long as they inhabited Arabia, were ignorant of wine, and were idolatrous, unclean and un-

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strange incidents and consequences of horror. Of all the manifestations of evil and ignorance in apostate America, not least strange is the favoritism shown to Jews over Christians. The gospel of Jesus is preëminent for the absence of prohibitions and for the religious use of wine. The religion of Moses was typically Asiatic in the number of its prohibitions, and did not teach the religious use of wine. Yet, apostate America inflicts upon Christians the prohibition common to Asiatics, forbids the use of wine at Christian tables and in Christian homes, and, by a special exemption, accords this privilege to Jews. The mediæval Jews adopted the ceremonial use of wine only after long residence in those countries where it had been first taught by Numa and Jesus.

civilized. After the death of Mohammed, Arab men spread swiftly across the Christian populations of Egypt and North Africa, and into Christian Spain. All these countries were then inhabited by Christian wine drinkers[1]; and the Moslem advance was so swift that each new generation of Moslems was born of Christian mothers in a newly conquered Christian land. After the Battle of Tours, the Moslems of southern Spain counted, instead of an ancestry ignorant of wine, three or four genetrices of a wine drinking Christian group, and only a remote male ancestor as an abstainer. Spanish Moslems, in a vine growing country, drank wine freely, and gave to the vintages of Malaga and Jerez their celebrity. These wine drinking descendants of wine drinking groups erected a brilliant civilization in southern Spain, when northern Europe's vineyards were trampled out, its surface reforested, and its inhabitants bone dry and barbarous. During succeeding centuries, Christian and Moslem changed places. Christian Europe restored its vineyards, drank wine, and became civilized. Islam obeyed the Koran, shunned wine, substituted coffee as the popular drink, and relapsed into barbarism.

186. XI. Stagnant and declining civilizations have prohibited alcohol in all countries, and in all ages. Thus, showing first, that alcoholic temptation was present as a factor in their rise, and was abolished (as nearly as government could abolish it) in the period of decline. The evidence

[1] The conquest of a non-drinking nation by a small body of soldiers drawn from a drinking nation is one of the commonest events in history and accounts for the wide extension of the use of wine. The conquest of Christian Egypt by a small force of non-drinking Arabs is almost the only exception to the general rule. But it is easily explained by the fact that at this time the Christian proletariat had everywhere abandoned the religious use of wine in frequent or daily communion. Moreover, the religious sterilization of the chaste and pious had been an unbroken practice in Christian Egypt since the fourth century; so that, from an unfavorable selection of mothers, all classes of Christian society had suffered continuous deterioration for three hundred years. The best evidence of this deterioration is afforded by the fact that they succumbed so easily to the wild onslaught of the barbarian invaders.

of China may be cited in two brief extracts from the cyclopedias:

"The earliest attempt at temperance reform is claimed by the Chinese, who affirm that in the eleventh century B.C. one of their emperors ordered all the vines in the kingdom to be uprooted. Early reforms are attributed also to the priests of India and of Persia. The Buddhists taught total abstinence." (*New Internatinal Encyclopædia*, Art.: Temperance.)

"An Emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty, A.D. 459 made a very severe prohibitory law. All liquor-makers, liquor-vendors and liquor-drinkers were to be beheaded. In 781 an Emperor of the T'ang dynasty invented a peculiar scheme of prohibition. All the liquor shops were divided into three grades, to pay a monthly tax to the Government according to size, and then all persons, officers and people were strictly forbidden to buy or drink. In the Kin Tartar dynasty, 1160, the law was that all officials who drank should be beheaded. In 1279 the Mongol Emperor had a law that all liquor-makers should be banished and enslaved, and all their property and children should come under the control and care of the Government." (*Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition*, Art.: China, N. Y. Funk & Wagnalls, 1891.)

In India, the liquor traffic was prohibited by the Mogul Emperors; but prohibition enforced by spies was naturally ameliorated by corruption.[1]

"Akbar ordered the Kotwals, or city-governors, to restrict it so far as this could be done without interfering with the privacy of domestic life, and Jahangir—himself a heavy

[1] The twentieth century has afforded an apt illustration of the difference between the Christian and the Asiatic attitude toward prohibition. England is preëminently a Christian land in which toleration has suffered a great multiplication of Christian sects. India is equally the home of a multitude of Asiatic religions. In 1920–1921 an itinerant agitator, preaching prohibition, visited both countries. In England he was received by a hostile mob and lost an eye. In India he was attended by rajahs and princesses, bountifully entertained as a guest of native states, greeted with enthusiasm by great crowds, hailed as a deliverer by a population accustomed for centuries to seek salvation only through taboo. Asia is the ancient and hospitable home of prohibition.

drinker—prohibited it altogether, but probably this latter regulation was not seriously meant, and in any case it was not carried out."

"Prohibition was enforced much more strictly under Shahjahan, as appears from the complaints made by Mundy ii., 97, 134; but even then it was not universal, for the same writer records that at Surat the *tari* trees were farmed by the Governor (ii., 32)." (Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, Chap. V, p. 159.)

The prohibitory laws of Carthage which heralded the decline, and the final extinction of that great city, were known to Plato.

"I should say that if a city seriously means to adopt the practice of drinking under due regulation and with a view to the enforcement of temperance, and in like manner, and on the same principle, will allow of other pleasures, designing to gain the victory over them—in this way all of them may be used. But if the state makes drinking an amusement only, and whoever likes may drink whenever he likes, and with whom he likes, and add to this any other indulgences, I shall never agree or allow that this city or this man should practice drinking. I would go farther than the Cretans and Lacedæmonians, and am disposed rather to the law of the Carthaginians, that no one while he is on a campaign should be allowed to taste wine at all, but that he should drink water during all that time, and that in the city no slave, male or female, should ever drink wine; and that the magistrates should not drink during their year of office, nor should pilots of vessels or judges while on duty taste wine at all, nor any one who is going to hold a consultation about any matter of importance; nor in the day-time at all, unless with a view to training or as a medicine; nor again at night, when any one either man or woman, is minded to get children. There are numberless other cases also in which those who have good sense and good laws ought not to drink wine, so that if what I say is true, no city will need many vineyards. Their husbandry and their way of life in general will follow an appointed order, and their cultivation of the vine will be the most limited and the least common of their employments, And this, stranger, shall be the crown of my discourse about wine, if you agree." (Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, Laws II.)

This is the statute recited by Plato, and must have been in force in the fourth century B.C. Rome's wars with Carthage were fought in the third and second centuries B.C.; The experience of China and America has taught that anti-liquor legislation, once it has begun, does not stand still. Succeeding statutes, each more drastic than the others are enacted. If the above statute was in force in Plato's time, it is a reasonable inference that complete prohibition had been attained at the time of Carthage's wars with Rome.

Historical evidence as to alcoholic temptation in the mild form of wine during the wine drinking period warrants the following conclusions:

Wine is a potent factor in assisting the rise of civilization. No civilizations, ancient or modern rose without it.

Prohibition, enforced by official or priestly spies, usually precedes civilization's fall.

187. If the effect of wine drinking upon the rise and decline of man's intellectual and spiritual stature, and consequent civilization, has been correctly explained, mathematical law would expect that the discovery of stronger forms of alcoholic beverage, having a toxic effect greater than wine, would be followed by the rise of civilization to a greater height than it had reached in the wine drinking period. The expectation of mathematical law is fully supported by the evidence of history. It was after distilled spirits had become cheap, plentiful, and easily available to all classes of society, that modern civilization rose. Wine continued to be used by those classes of society which had enjoyed it for thousands of years. Intoxicating liquor was for the first time abundant among the poor. Modern civilization is not especially distinguished by an exceptional rise of its upper classes, which are hardly, if at all, superior to the upper classes of ancient civilization. It is particularly distinguished by the unprecedented rise of the poor and laboring classes of society, always formerly held as slaves and serfs; now risen to command the world. Alcoholic

temptation has spread to these classes of society only during the last two or three centuries.

XII. Distilled spirits first came into common use in the sixteenth century, in Holland; and, to this day, the name "hollands" is often used to mean gin. It was in gin drinking Holland that religious and political freedom, industrial activity, arts and enterprise first rose to the height that marks modern civilization. The "rise of the Dutch Republic" was the rise of a democracy tempted by the stronger forms of distilled alcohol.

XIII. In England the common drink in the Middle Ages was water; at the end of the seventeenth century it was ale. In 1690, distilling was thrown open to any one on payment of trifling duties; spirits became extremely cheap, and their consumption increased with great rapidity. In 1738, a complete and detailed survey of all the streets and houses in London was carried out by William Maitland, F.R.S. Out of a total of 95,968 houses he found the following: Brew houses, 171; inns, 207; taverns, 447; ale houses, 5975; brandy shops, 8659; total number of licensed houses for the retail sale of liquor, 15,288, of which considerably more than one-half were spirit bars. The population was about three-quarters of a million. About one house in every six was licensed. This great increase in alcoholic temptation was followed, as ever, by brilliant intellectual gains in posterity. The vast achievements of science, art, and invention, of the English speaking people followed the introduction of distilled spirits. The arms of the drinking English triumphed over non-drinking people in every quarter of the globe.

XIV. A generation before the birth of Robert Burns, the common drink of the Scotch was ale for the peasants, claret for the rich. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, whiskey had become plentiful and cheap in Scotland, and had superseded ale as the peasants' drink. Burns himself became an exciseman. Alcoholic temptation in the stronger form of whiskey was followed by a rapid improvement in the Scotch peasantry, the rise of Scotch industry,

arts, and enterprise, and the progress of Scotch settlements throughout the globe.

XV. In America, civilization and distilled spirits were yoked together from the start. The first colonists drank rum; a thriving trade in that beverage was done with the West Indies. Upon the achievement of national independence, rum was superseded by whiskey. During the whole period from its settlement to the brilliant rise of mental and industrial activity, and the love of freedom which culminated in the extinction of African slavery, all classes of Americans were tempted by the stronger forms of alcoholic beverage. Rum, whiskey, and gin, were common, untaxed, plentiful and cheap. It was with universal alcoholic temptation pervading all classes, from the highest to the lowest, rich and poor, that America's civilization rose.[1]

[1] The western frontier of America in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was about the head waters of the Ohio River and its tributaries. In all this region, money was scarce, the market for grain remote, and because of its bulk, the difficulties of transporting it so great, that the farmers of that region were in the habit of converting it into whiskey, in which shape it could be easily moved, and could and did serve as the current medium of exchange. Whiskey was an ordinary form of currency among American pioneers for about a generation before and after the year eighteen hundred. "Three hundred barrels of whiskey" was Audubon's capital, when he left Louisville for Hendersonville, Ky., in March, 1810. Tom Lincoln accepted whiskey as payment for his Kentucky holdings, and, when he started for Indiana, took this whiskey with him to be used as part payment for the land he was to buy there. This was in 1816. Grain was plentiful, there was a still on nearly every farm, and whiskey was extraordinarily abundant and cheap. In 1791, the Congress of the new nation, in sore need of money, levied a tax of eleven cents a gallon on spirits distilled from foreign materials (sugar-cane, molasses, etc.) and nine cents a gallon on spirits distilled from domestic materials. The attempt to collect this tax led to the "Whiskey Insurrection" in Western Pennsylvania in 1794. The insurrection was put down, and, in 1808, the tax was repealed. From 1813 to 1817, there was a license tax on distillers. From 1818 to 1861, no internal tax of any kind was laid in the United States. During this period, the farmer's supply of spirits represented only an outlay of labor and not of money; in the rural districts, where eggs sold for ten or twelve cents a dozen, one egg was reckoned a fair price for a drink of whiskey. In New York

188. The evidence is, therefore, that without alcoholic temptation genius has not been born, posterity has not improved, and civilization has not risen. Groups with the strongest forms of alcoholic temptation have been most prolific of augmented nervous organizations, and have attained the highest civilization. On those areas of the globe where alcohol has been always unknown civilization has been likewise unknown; where alcohol has been used for thousands of years (as in the Mediterranean basin) civilization has persisted, while in those regions (like North Africa and the Rhine Valley) which have had alcohol at one time and not at another, civilization has been contemporaneous with alcoholic temptation, savagery with prohibition. When the Christian proletariat drank daily of wine in Holy Communion, it withstood persecution and rose to command an empire. When it ceased to be a drinking proletariat it was overwhelmed by barbarian invasion. Whenever the poor do not drink, they are continuously afflicted with plague; when they change to drinking habits, they become immune. Countries with a non-drinking proletariat always get their rulers from abroad; countries with a drinking prole-

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City, in 1860, three cents a drink was the price at respectable bars. Wages were about a dollar a day. A common laborer's daily wages would buy 33 drinks, or about two quarts of whiskey in a saloon; or (say) two gallons if bought in bulk.

As the American frontier spread westward, whiskey became even cheaper. In Mark Twain's boyhood, it sold for ten cents a gallon. He thus describes the country store of his uncle John A. Quarles in the little village of Florida, Missouri (*circa* 1850):

"And at the other end of the room was another counter with bags of shot on it, a cheese or two, and a keg of powder; in front of it a row of nail kegs and a few pigs of lead; and behind it a barrel or two of New Orleans molasses and native corn whiskey on tap. If a boy bought five or ten cents' worth of anything he was entitled to half a handful of sugar from the barrel; if a woman bought a few yards of calico she was entitled to a spool of thread in addition to the usual gratis 'trimmin's'; if a man bought a trifle he was at liberty to draw and swallow as big a drink of whiskey as he wanted." (Unpublished chapters from the "Autobiography of Mark Twain," *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1922.)

tariat derive their ruling classes from the augmented nervous organizations continuously rising from their lower classes. In non-drinking proletariats, taxation takes all the bare necessities of existence, wealth does not accumulate, and famine is frequent. In drinking proletariats, taxation always leaves a surplus in the hands of the poor, wealth accumulates, and famine is rare or unknown. Where alcoholic beverage is freely used, intellect has always risen. Where its use has been abandoned for coffee, intellect has signally declined. Where coffee drinkers and brandy drinkers are found side by side, as in Egypt, the latter are intellectually superior. Where drinking and non-drinking nations come into armed conflict, the former always win. So that alcoholic beverage, first known and used only by a fortunate few, has been carried by drinking and conquering nations throughout the globe. Instead of destroying the groups to which it was known, it has made them ever victorious. They are universally superior, corporeally and spiritually, to the non-drinking groups.[1]

[1] Since this Chapter was set in type Dr. Dublin, Statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York has made public some figures showing the EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH in various countries at different periods of the nineteenth century. Part of his table is given below.

Country—Year	Expectation at Birth	Country—Year	Expectation at Birth
ENGLAND AND WALES		HOLLAND	
1838–1854	40.88	1850–1859	37.32
1871–1880	42.98	1870–1879	39.55
1876–1880	43.56	1880–1889	43.75
1881–1890	45.42	1890–1899	47.60
1891–1900	45.95	1900–1909	52.20
1901–1910	50.45	DENMARK	
1910–1912	53.42	1835–1844	43.65
FRANCE		1860–1869	44.55
1817–1831	39.55	1880–1889	47.85
1840–1859	40.15	1885–1894	48.05
1861–1865	39.82	1895–1900	51.70
1877–1881	42.12	1906–1910	56.40
1898–1903	47.43	INDIA	
SAXONY		1881–1891	25.07
1891–1900	39.80	1891–1901	23.80
1900–1911	44.77	1901–1911	22.95

In all the drinking countries of Europe the average length of life has steadily increased. In India, alone, a non-drinking country, it declined.

CHAPTER XIV

DIVERSITY VS. UNIFORMITY

189. Few things that live, bear, and die, are perfectly fungible. Corn is reckoned one of the fungible grains; but corn clubs throughout the United States have discovered that, by a suitable selection of ears for seed, the yield of corn can be greatly increased. Uncivilized man is probably less fungible than corn. But the application of mathematical law may be discerned by comparison of groups without the necessity of setting up absolute standards. Comparative standards are equally a guide to truth. And a comparison of uncivilized man with rising civilizations affords data for the following generalization:

Uncivilized mankind is fungible; and decaying civilizations tend to become fungible.

Civilized mankind is not fungible; and with each succeeding generation rising civilizations tend to become less fungible.

It is convenient to notice that this change between uncivilized and civilized mankind follows a general biological law, whose rule extends far beyond mankind. Taking only the vertebrates, the following examples are well known:

I. Fish are nearly perfectly fungible—the males with each other, the females with each other, and the two sexes with each other. The salmon that rush eagerly up the Columbia river to their spawning beds are hardly distinguishable, either physically or psychically. They are animated by the same spirit, and, in breeding, they perform almost the same task. Male and female go as physical

virgins to the breeding waters, the female there to deposit her spawn, the male his milt, and both then to die. Physically and psychically neither feels, thinks, or does anything which the other does not. And the young salmon, except for size and age, are almost fungible with the old. The change from youth to maturity brings the desire and power to propagate. Aside from this, there is no accession of knowledge, of thought, of reason, or of mental or spiritual stature. The instinct that guides the salmon is congenital, lasts unchanged a life-time, and is imparted unchanged to future generations. Nothing is lost or gained by death, birth or time.

II. Birds are less fungible than fish. Cocks are fungible, and hens are fungible; but cocks and hens are not fungible: There is a marked divergence in the physical functions of the two sexes. Mating takes place before the female's eggs are laid, and the task of forming and laying the egg burdens the female beyond the male. Psychically the sexes are fungible. Both are animated by like migratory habits and similar sexual desires; both join in building the nest, and in feeding and protecting the young. Often (not always) the male shares with the female the task of sitting on the eggs; or feeds the female while she is performing this duty.

III. Among the mammalia, the divergence of the sexes is still greater. Not only does the female carry the whole burden of gestation and birth, but she alone is capable of feeding the new born offspring. The physical functions of male and female, which in fish are almost identical, have, in the higher mammals, become widely different. Physically, the sexes are not fungible at all. Psychically they are the same. Sexual desire animates both the male and female, and the rutting season for both sexes is synchronous; also, although the female's burden greatly exceeds the male's, it does not forbid her sharing the same forest, meeting the same perils, fighting the same enemies, and capturing the same prey.

190. IV. Uncivilized man is nearly akin to the higher mammals. There is the same physical divergence between the sexual functions of male and female. Like other mammals, they are psychically fungible, each animated by the same sexual desires, which they transmit alike to both sexes of their offspring. Like the higher mammals also, there is, aside from the sexual functions, little difference between youth and age. The adult savage is still called the child of the forest. There is, of course, some slight expansion of intellect, and of memory, and some acquisition of knowledge, of cunning, and of spiritual stature. While man remains savage, however, the intellectual accessions of maturity are standardized within limits which do not expand. One savage does not greatly exceed another in intellect, knowledge does not increase from generation to generation, and wisdom is wholly unknown. The savage may be justly called fungible, because, although there are slight psychical differences between men, between women, between men and women, and between youth and maturity, yet these differences are simply oscillations near a savage standard, and are not departures from it. Each generation, as it begets offspring, transmits to them what it received.

V. Rising civilizations exhibit a new biological phenomenon;—a unique departure from all former standards. Men are no longer fungible; women are no longer fungible; men and women, and youth and maturity, have ceased to be fungible. All the physical divergence of their sexual functions, noted in savages and other mammals, exist in equal or increased degree in civilized mankind. Added to these, is a psychical divergence which is new and unique. Civilized women differ from men in their sex characteristics, not only physically, but psychically. Some of them will be without sexual desire, and will be mated and prolific, not because of their spiritual identity with other women, or with men, or with mammals generally, but because their physical adaptability to motherhood is animated by humility, duty,

obedience, religion, necessity or abnegation. When these women become mothers, the orbit of departure from the earliest vertebrates has reached its apogee. Instead of the male and female salmon, carried together by the same venereal fury from the ocean's depths to the headwaters of the Columbia, there to fulfill at any cost nearly identical sexual functions, civilized man presents such physical and psychical diversity between the sexes, that the male who performs his functions without labor, is animated by sexual desire, while the female, upon whom devolves all the travail of childbirth, incapacitating her for other labor, may be sexually cold. Mankind born of these divergent parents is no longer fungible. Men differ not only from women but from each other; youth differs from maturity; and the generations differ from each other. Knowledge is acquired, is accumulated, and its accretions are transmitted to posterity. Intellect departs from the standards of the past, widens its range, enlarges its achievements, and seeks new standards with each succeeding generation. So that the difference between savagery and civilization may be defined and compared with mathematical accuracy thus:

Where the intellect continues to move within a narrow radius of oscillation round a fixed standard from which it does not depart, mankind is born of men and women animated by the same sexual desires, and may be correctly described as fungible. Where the intellect leaves the circle of oscillation and departs on a tangent from old standards, men and women are not animated by the same sexual desires, and have ceased to be fungible.

191. It needs no citation of historical evidence to prove that, in accordance with mathematical law, diversity is the invariable accompaniment of rising civilizations. Physical differences between men and women, and between youth and maturity, remain the same as among savages. Psychical diversity takes a wide range, departing altogether from the unity observed among the uncivilized. Observe the following examples:

In individuals:

Diversity between men.

Genius appears and displays mental powers far exceeding the common man's. The difference is not of degree only, but of kind.

Diversity between women.

Sexual anesthesia appears and persists. Examples of inordinate sexual passion also appear. So that, in the augmented nervous organizations of civilized women, their sexual desires, standardized among savages, range from zero to a figure greatly exceeding par. The women of savage groups are, likewise, standardized as to intellect; having no considerable mental activity beyond the feelings. In civilized groups, the mentality of women ranges all the way from the savage standard, animated by feelings alone, to the highest intellectual attainments.

Between men and women.

Among savages both sexes are animated alike by a standardized sexual desire; among civilized groups this is no longer true. Sexual desire tends to become standardized among men, since without it they cannot become fathers. It is no longer standardized among women. Sexual desire in men, and sexual anesthesia in women, are diversities exhibited by all rising civilizations.

Diversity between children.

Examples of childish precocity, unknown to savage groups, are frequently exhibited in rising civilizations. The mental powers of some children develop so quickly that at an early age they become prodigies of learning, or of music, or of some other accomplishment.

Diversity between youth and maturity.

In savage groups, the psychical diversity between youth and maturity is slight. The grown savage is larger in stature, and has acquired sexual powers. Mentally he remains a child. Association with children is easy and natural to both savage men and savage women. In civilized groups, the diversity between youth and maturity

usually spans the whole range of diversity between savages and civilization. The child of the civilized groups is commonly still a savage.[1] All the spiritual growth that distinguishes civilization from savagery is acquired in the course of a child's growth to maturity. To the augmented nervous organization of adults of the highest civilization, children are not equals, as they are to savages. Association with children, except for short and infrequent intervals, becomes irksome. Tender infants are given to the charge of nurses of a lower nervous organization than the mother. Older ones are turned over to governesses, or packed off to hired instructors in schools. Men, women, and children, all three of whom are psychically nearly fungible in savage groups, have become in civilized groups three psychical entities, distinct from each other, and wide apart. To this fact is due the family unhappiness which is so much more common in civilized than in savage groups.

192. *Diversity of Groups:*
Rich and poor.

With respect to their possessions of private property, there is little diversity of groups among savages. Inherited wealth as a family possession, to be transmitted through many generations to remote posterity, is unknown. That vast variety of family fortunes ranging from the greatest wealth to a small competence, side by side with extreme destitution, all of which is familiar in civilized groups, is likewise unknown. So, also, are groups of rich families capable of intermarriage. The private possessions of savages vary somewhat one from another; but the variation is mostly for a life-time, and its transmission to heirs is precarious. Private possessions, as a selective factor in

[1] "Take a child of six months, and there is absolutely no such brain power existent as mental inhibition; no desire or tendency is stopped by a mental act." (T. S. Clouston, *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases*, London, 1883, pp. 310–318). This is equally true of the adult savage, not of civilized man.

the survival of savages, are almost negligible; in civilized groups highly important.

Social order.

Alike in uncivilized groups and in waning or gibbous civilizations, social order tends to resolve itself into two simple classifications: the rulers and the ruled. When it departs from these, religion or superstition tends to fix each individual's status unalterably in the rigid rules of caste. Both examples lack the diversity observable in rising civilizations. In civilized groups social order is always apparent; but it is revolutionary, spiritual, continually changing place, creating new grades and filling with newcomers the new grades and the old. Plebeians change to the highest aristocrats, rulers are sprung from the people, and the centuries witness kaleidoscopic changes in social orders which, at any given moment, present the appearance of rigid stability.[1]

[1] For many centuries, England has presented the appearance of a country where bloody revolutions do not occur, and where wealth and social order are secure, fixed, and permanent. Yet every reader of English history notices that the governing families change from century to century, and even from generation to generation, so that power is continually exercised by new strains emerging from the ancestral obscurity. The same invisible but ceaseless revolution distributes the possession of landed wealth.

"The most permanent form of hereditary wealth is land; but only a small minority of our existing landed families existed as landed families at the time of the last Herald's visitation. Thus, though the estates of this country are as old as the country itself, the actual possession of a large proportion of them by their owners at any given time represents their purchase by wealth recently created. In spite of the permanence which interest gives to wealth, the families that live merely on interest are constantly tending to disappear, and their places are being taken by the men whose exceptional faculties, whose business ability, whose enterprise and strenuous will actually contribute most to the productive forces of the country." (Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, Bk. IV, Chap. III.)

Burke's *Landed Gentry* declared that in fifty years one-half the ancient families of Great Britain had lost their land.

"One by one our ancient families, whose sole resources have been the

Diversity of belief.

In uncivilized groups, superstition is commonly inchoate rather than diverse. Spiritual stature is incapable of fixing the ceremonies of worship on an abstract God, but must attach them to idols or to putative ancestors. Ceremonial observances are commonly those of idolatry, fetishism, or taboo. Religious intolerance is a marked characteristic of falling civilizations. Rising civilizations differ both from the uncivilized and the post-civilized. In rising civilizations, an augmented nervous system, not shared alike by individuals, but greater in some than in others, leads to new religious conceptions, and to consequent diversity. Where civilizations continue to rise, tolerance of religious differences is inevitable, and characteristic. Intolerance invariably heralds the beginning of their decline.

193. In the ascending scale of nervous organizations of vertebrates, from fish to civilized man, it is plain that diversity increases as the nervous organization is augmented. Beginning with units which are nearly fungible, it ends with units which are not fungible at all. Beginning with groups which show no change in the passage of time, it reaches to groups where change is discernible in each succeeding generation. Beginning with large groups which contain no diversity of smaller groups, it ends with large groups which contain innumerable diverse smaller groups. The differences observable between its extremes are likewise observable in lesser degree, but in the same order, and following the same law throughout the whole scale from fish to men. It is plain that this biological law is in exact accordance with mathematical law, which infallibly rules groups moving in

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land, are squeezed out of their ownership, and their places in the country are taken through lease or purchase by a new class. The extent to which this change has taken place may be appreciated from the fact that of the families included in the *Landed Gentry* so recently as 1863, not fifty per cent remain in the present edition." (Burke, *Landed Gentry of Great Britain*, Preface to the 1914 edition.)

finite space through time. And this mathematical law is easily understood.

Where men and women are fungible their offspring have but one parent. Where men and women differ from each other their offspring have two parents. In the earlier instance, those who see only the flesh with the eye of flesh, see father and mother—a visible parentage that does not differ between uncivilized and civilized groups. Those who can see the dimensions of the invisible factors of mathematical law will see differently. If men and women are animated by the same sexual desire, like male and female salmon, then their offspring of both sexes, in that respect, have but one parent. If men and women are equally adapted to the same sylvan environment, their offspring of both sexes will be children of the forest, like the offspring of stags and hinds. In respect to their adaptability to forest life they have but one spiritual ancestry instead of two. When men and women cease to be fungible their children inherit from two parents. Children born to a father who is brave in battle, and a mother who is industrious at the loom, may transmit both valor and industry to their posterity. Children born to a father who is strong and lusty, and a mother who is humble and chaste, may inherit four traits instead of two—strength, lust, humility, and chastity. Children born to a father who is adventurous and grasping in business, and a mother who is pious and charitable at home, may enrich their land with the inherited qualities of both. Children born to a father who has conquered his country's enemies, and a mother who has conquered herself, may inherit the victories of both. Such simple examples of diversity as these, appear at the beginnings of all civilizations. So long as diversity between the sexes continues, posterity is enriched by the perennial addition of the qualities of both. It is in accordance with mathematical law, also, that useful qualities should outlive useless ones. Hence it is certain that as diversity between men and women increases, posterity will not only be enriched, but will be improved, by the

continuous addition of the spiritual qualities of both sexes, and by the survival of those which are most useful.[1]

194. The operation of mathematical law in exact accordance with the preceding paragraph may be seen in all civilizations. Their rise takes place when there is a marked diversity between the sexes. Their decline begins when the sexes have become nearly fungible. Note the evidence:

Among the Jews, civilization was rising in the period covered by the Book of Judges and the Book of Ruth. Warlike men were displayed in Jephthah, Gideon, and Samson. The women were humble and obedient, even unto death. Witness Jephthah's daughter, Hannah, Ruth and the virtuous woman portrayed in the last chapter of Proverbs.

In Isaiah's time, diversity between the sexes had disappeared, the men had become effeminate and the women ruled. The fall of Israel was near.

[1] The psychical diversity between the sexes exercises a controlling influence on the vexed question of predestination or free-will. The young salmon, offspring of a parentage wherein both sexes have been psychically identical for millions of years, is ruled entirely by predestination. A long line of male and female ancestors has transmitted to each descendant the same irrefragable motives. So that each salmon is predestinated to live over again the ancestral life and to return to the same spawning bed in the same stream and there perform on the same spot the identical functions of all his or her progenitors for a million years.

The psychical inheritance of civilized man is derived from the psychical diversity of two sets of ancestors, and in him the psychical attributes from two different sexes enlarge the scope of free-will. A long line of valiant and lustful fathers, chaste and humble mothers, focussing in their descendants, give to their posterity the choice of innumerable combinations of inherited traits, and the ethical responsibility of the individual increases in proportion to the inherited range of choice.

Hence "good and evil," which cannot be predicated on the actions of a salmon whose life is predestinated by the psychical identity of all its progenitors, may justly be charged against civilized man who enjoys a measure of free-will equivalent to the sum of the psychical attributes of all his ancestors, both male and female. If he chooses ill, his own part in this sum, and result is *evil;* if he chooses well, the result is *good.*

Greece

In Athens, the diversity between men and women was greater than in Sparta. Spartan women walked with a manly stride, resisted all efforts of government to control them, emulated the bravery of the men, and Sparta declined without leaving a single intellectual monument to posterity. In Athens, during the entire rise of the Greek intellect, women were humble, were shut closely at home, were kept in seclusion, while Athenian men ranged earth and heaven with body and spirit. Thucydides, at the height of Athenian culture, wrote a history without the name of a woman in it.

Beginning with Plato's time, women began to wrestle naked in the palestria, and to emulate the sports, employment, and sophistry of men. They aspired to become philosophers. From the time that diversity between men and women ceased, Athenian culture declined, liberty and valor perished, and the Hellenic race became generally described by historians as "the frivolous Greeks."

Rome

The laws of Numa decreed the greatest possible diversity between the sexes. Under these laws, and while this diversity was religiously observed, the civilization and might of Rome continuously increased. The Roman matron did not emulate her husband in the things which he did. Verginia, dedicating her little chapel to the plebeian Pudicitia, earnestly exhorted the matrons "to show the same spirit of emulation on the score of *chastity* that the men of this city displayed with regard to *courage*." The Roman of that period inherited his virtues from a father and mother who differed from each other; not from a father and mother who were alike. Only the men of Rome were expected to be brave. After the disaster of Cannæ, the lamentation of the women was so great, that the senate's first care was to "keep the matrons out of the public streets and compel them to remain indoors." (Livy, Bk. XXII, Chap. LV.) Plutarch relates that Cato's wife was afraid of a thunderstorm. Only the

women of Rome were expected to be chaste. Adultery was not a crime which a Roman husband could commit against his wife. But the descendants of brave fathers and chaste mothers, inheriting the virtues of both, conquered the ancient world.

In time, this diversity of the sexes ceased; and with it ended the rise of Rome. Diversity ceased first in the ancient patrician order, and this order lost its leadership. It ceased next in Rome; for three centuries, the empire was ruled by men sprung from the provinces. Under the teachings of Paul, diversity was revived among the Christians, whose women were forbidden to go uncovered or to let their voices be heard in the churches; but were told to be "discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands." The Christians took the rule of the empire from the pagans. Finally, among the Christians themselves fathers and mothers became spiritually fungible. After that, the Christian empire itself declined.

195. *Modern Europe.*

As modern civilization began to rise, a diversity, similar to that of Ancient Rome, may be seen between the sexes. The picture of France, in the reign of Philip Augustus, shows in the ruling caste a great diversity between the seignior and his lady. Among the peasants man and woman were as nearly alike as bull and cow. Later in French history, the noble lord and his noble lady became alike. For two centuries before the French revolution, it is noticeable that in the *haut ton* women and men were very much the same. With an equal fortune each was equally free, was independent of the other, was educated for the same polite society, indulged in the same pastimes, and cultivated the same virtues and vices. No spiritual differences divided the sexes. In the same two centuries women of the bourgeoisie were humble, chaste, keepers at home, and displayed spiritual virtues that are purely feminine. At the close of these two centuries, the orders of society were transformed. The aristocracy, where men and women had been spiritually

fungible, fell to decay and oblivion. The bourgeoisie rose to the rule of France. The history of Rome was repeated.

In England, it was the same. Taine, reviewing the Elizabethan age, declares that "by a singular coincidence the women are more of women, the men more of men, here than elsewhere. The two natures go each to its extreme; in the one to boldness, the spirit of enterprise and resistance, the warlike, imperious, and unpolished character; in the other to sweetness, devotion, patience, inextinguishable affection."[1] From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the same diversity between the sexes is observed in the "ruling classes." In both France and England, as in all modern Europe, no similar diversity could be seen between the men and women of the peasantry. Of them, as of the higher mammals, it was true, that "although the female's burden greatly exceeds the male's it does not forbid her sharing the same forest, meeting the same perils, fighting the same enemies, and capturing the same prey." In the class that remained always peasant, the sexes were spiritually fungible, and equally adapted to the same tasks, joys and environment. They shared alike the work of the fields, the festivities of holidays, and the pleasures of propagation. Among the middle classes, the sexes were spiritually diverse. Commerce and industry were carried on by the men in an environment reserved for them. Housework and motherhood, in a different environment, were reserved for women. In this class of society, children were born to two parents instead of one; and this class was prolific of genius.

196. *Diverse Education*

Savage and civilized women alike give birth to savages. There is this difference, however, that the children of savage women remain savages all their lives; those of civilized women only during adolescence. A savage couple, surrounded by their brood of little savages, are happily conscious of a complete and perfect relationship. Physically they are the same blood, mentally their feelings are

[1] Taine, *History of English Literature*, Bk. II, Chap. II.

alike, and dominate their intellects, which are not very different. Emotion rules the adult savage as it does the child. Sexual ardor increases the birth rate among savage women, because children increase their happiness. Physically and mentally the mother and child are alike.

The augmented nervous organization which civilizes man and woman, creates a new and different family relationship. When civilization has attained that height where the feelings of adults are dominated by intellect, their spiritual kinship with childhood disappears. A prolific civilized couple, surrounded by their brood of little savages is related to them physically, but not mentally. There is nothing in common between the mind of a civilized adult and the mind of a child. Between a highly intellectual father in an advanced civilization and his infant children, this mental disparity must always exist, since it is only by extending the masculine intellect to its furthest limits that the utmost civilization is attained. Between a civilized mother and her children, the mental gulf is not so wide, and much may be done to bridge it. It is noticeable in all rising civilizations that those domestic customs which impress maternity upon cold women, and therefore augment the nervous organization of posterity, are accompanied by a system of tutelage which forbids to women the fullest exercise of their intellectual faculties, or an education the same as man's. If civilization is to continue to rise, it is important that women of augmented mentality should remain fruitful. But if they are schooled in a variety of mental exercises outside the home and nursery, their spiritual kinship with childhood will be lost. Physically adapted, they become psychically unadapted for motherhood.

Rising civilizations, therefore, repeat always the same picture—successive generations of mothers of increasing nervous organization, granddaughters always more intellectual than their grandmothers, domestic usages sanctioned by custom and by religion which restrict their outlook upon life, limit their mental range, confine them to the duties of

the household and the nursery, and so preserve, for a time, mothers capable of bearing intellectual offspring, mothers schooled to welcome and care for children, and mothers whose education fits them better for the companionship of a child than for the companionship of a man. Each civilization, at this height, repeats also another picture;—of women who have burst the bonds which fettered the intellects of their mothers and grandmothers; who have demanded and received the same education as men; who find intellectual companionship only with adults and not with children. When this period of civilization is reached, the birth rate for the most intellectual of a civilized group declines with such rapidity that their numbers are no longer maintained.

The intellectual prowess of the men of a civilized group is altogether necessary. By this the group is strengthened against its foes, enlarges its domain, and is enabled to increase its numbers, power, and wealth. The intellectual prowess of its women has an opposite result. As it increases, their aptitude for motherhood declines, the numbers of augmented nervous organizations are impaired, as these women become less prolific, and their increasing intellectual interests and activities weaken instead of strengthening the civilized groups whose dying numbers they refuse to replace.

197. The Roman patriciate furnishes a classical example. The first literary production of a noble Roman lady were the letters of Cornelia,[1] daughter of Scipio, and mother of the Gracchi; and her letters heralded the decline of her order. The "higher education" of women began in Rome at this time. A century earlier, patrician women were confined to the home, educated differently from the men, forbidden to

[1] Notwithstanding her literary labors, Cornelia bore twelve children. And those who cite only the evidence of units instead of groups will argue that this shows that woman's higher education is not incompatible with her fruitfulness. But civilization is maintained by groups, not by mortals, and the effect of woman's higher education and intellectual activities and accomplishments on the patrician group was as stated in the text. Modern civilization furnishes contemporaneous evidence of the same effect.

speak in the forum or in public assemblies, and were the fruitful mothers of augmented nervous organizations, so that the noble families of Rome became the wonder of the ancient world. A century later, their ancient fetters broken, they vied with the men in intellectual activities and accomplishments, claimed equal rights, powers, privileges, and wealth, asserted their independence, deserted their homes, and abandoned the distasteful duties to which they owed their own existence. They disdained maternity, and the ancient patrician families were soon extinct.

Where civilized men and women receive similar educations, the physical difficulties and dangers of motherhood, added to the intellectual disparity between infants and adults, make the extinction of an intellectual class a mathematical certainty. How to preserve a due proportion of intellectuals, is the great problem of high civilizations. It is solved first by giving intellectual women an education different from men's. So long as their educational limitations can keep these women near to the mental range of children, some of them may still be happy mothers. When a masculine education implants them firmly in a sphere apart from home and children, motherhood becomes foreign and distasteful to this group. If other groups, rising on their heels, are impressing maternity on cold women, a new intellectual class will take the place of the old. This is plainly seen in Rome in the first centuries before and after Christ. An intellectual class of plebeian origin succeeded the patricians. Finally, a period was reached when there was no diversity; when the existing intellectual class educated its men and women alike, and thus made them barren; no new and rising class crowded to replace it. That was the point from which the national intellect altogether declined. Athens and Rome are classical examples. Intellect rose in both, while men and women were educated differently, and declined when they were educated alike.

198. If a company of men and women embark in one boat, all may perish in one disaster. If they embark in ten

boats, one disaster will destroy but one-tenth of their number; or if they embark in twenty boats then ten disasters will destroy only half their number. As they are capable of reproduction and increase, the numbers of the destroyed can be made good as often as the destruction is less than total.

This simple example illustrates the value to civilization of diversity of group. The continued existence of every large group is promoted by the spiritual vitality and diversity of smaller groups within it. The notorious biological example of this mathematical truth is the differentiation of species. The preservation of life is assured by physical and psychical differences so great that all cannot be overwhelmed by a common catastrophe. Whatever happens, some will survive, and these insure, by continued differentiation, against new catastrophes. Among the races of men, physical differences are slight, but psychical diversity has been greatly magnified. The physical differences of species which divide all life into innumerable groups find, in a nation, their counterpart in spiritual differences which divide the population into groups. Without spiritual diversity, national existence depends upon fecundity alone; and fecundity saves a nation only by peopling it with vast numbers of lower nervous organization.

A supernatural intelligence, viewing a nation where there is the widest diversity of human groups, would say that all is well. No common error can lead them all astray, no single catastrophe overwhelm them all in one disaster. The same intelligence viewing a country where uniformity is enforced will foresee with mathematical certainty its early doom.

199. *Diversity of Groups.*

Besides the diversity between men; between women; between men and women; and between youth and maturity; civilization always presents the spectacle of diversity between groups. Each group contains its own diversity of individuals, sexes, ages; but preserves as a group important

differences from other groups which, in turn, consist of diverse units. In civilized states, the diversity of groups most important, most universal, and most unique, is the diversity between rich and poor. In respect that they contain a group of rich families intermarrying, maintaining their numbers by their own fertility, apart from the addition of the newly enriched, rising civilizations differ both from savagery and from waning or gibbous civilizations. Among the savages, poverty is equal and universal. Savagery and destitution increase together; so that the lower the savage, the greater the poverty. Among waning civilizations, property rights become absorbed in the state. The only rich are those who hold places in the government, at the court, or near the throne. As soon as there is established the crown's *right* to take the property of its subjects, its incentive to do so is not far off. Under absolute governments, non-governmental wealth goes into hiding, groups of the independently rich decline in numbers, and, in a few generations, entirely disappear.

The value of private property in mortal hands as an auxiliary of civilization has already been shown in the chapter "Private Property." Under the head of "Diversity" it is necessary only to notice the advantages which accrue to a national group from the psychical difference between groups of rich and poor. The acquisition of new wealth, and especially the inheritance of old wealth, demand the cultivation, by its possessor, of new psychical traits unknown to poverty. Among the poor, the indulgence of appetites is continuously restrained by scanty means. Abstinence or temperance is enforced by necessity. Little attention is given to spiritual or any other restraint, beyond the restraints of poverty itself. So, the children of the poor are commonly taught to eat everything upon their plates, and that it is wasteful to leave anything. So, also, men who have been unable to procure drink throughout the week for want of money, will get drunk on pay day when they find money again in their pockets. The gluttony and intemper-

ance of hungry savages on a successful hunting expedition have been noticed by many travelers.

Abundance necessarily enlarges the domain of spiritual restraint. Where men need no longer consider what their indulgence will cost them in money, they must perforce consider what it will cost them in other things. Rich families must set up new standards of temperance, or perish. So it is noticeable that children born to a household where the cellar is full of old wines, and the table is bountifully supplied with food, must be early taught to limit their consumption of food and wine to what is good for them, rather than to what is placed before them. Without such standards of genteel restraint, inherited wealth cannot be transmitted to descendants. Spiritual moderation and temperance are enforced upon the rich by mathematical law. And no rich group of three dimensions is ever found without them. The records of wealthy Quaker and Evangelical families in Victorian and pre-Victorian England, are alive with examples of godliness and spiritual restraint upon the indulgence of the appetites, while the contemporary records of the English poor exhibit drunkenness and every indulgence that money could be found for.

200. After diversity between rich and poor, next in importance is diversity between religious groups. Each group may include in its membership all varieties of fortune from extreme wealth to extreme destitution; and all social orders from the highest to the lowest. But all these members of every class of society unite with each other, and differ from other religious groups by the invisible bond of a common belief or spiritual covenant which separates them from the rest of the world. Each is composed of mortal units condemned to about the same length of life and to the same certainty of death as all other mortals. But each group is demortal in respect that it is longer lived than its mortal units; and each, if it obeys mathematical law, may be immortal. Spiritual health, which cannot overrule the sentence of death passed upon mortal flesh, prolongs the

life of the spiritual group. Only spiritual error can destroy it.

Spiritual diversity continuously selects for ascendency that group whose spiritual guidance is best. Religious toleration preserves between the various groups a continuous spiritual rivalry; and the group whose spiritual guidance was superior in one century may be inferior in the next, and may decline, to be displaced by an old or new group which has approached nearer to spiritual truth. Intolerance, which abolishes spiritual diversity, exposes the entire national group to a common disaster. No matter what spiritual superiority has been displayed in the past, or may be displayed in the present by any religious sect, its members are still mortal. They will die, and their places will be taken by those yet unborn. Their errors cannot be foreseen. Yet, if spiritual diversity is forbidden, all must suffer for their future errors. Given a period of time sufficiently long, and it is mathematically certain that mortals will err. Where all are ruled by one spiritual guidance, all will suffer by the same spiritual error. Where groups are many and diverse, the errors of some will be avoided or repudiated by others. National destruction is insured against in proportion to the number and vitality of its diverse spiritual groups.

201. In preserving the diversity of groups the advantages of monogamy over polygamy are apparent. In monogamous civilizations, there is, for people of the same religion, and of equal social status or wealth, a strong tendency to intermarry. The continuity of the group and its diversity from other groups are alike preserved by the perennial mating of its men with its own women, and no others. Polygamous civilizations do not display the same tendency; for, whereas a rich man, in monogamous countries, is likely to marry a rich woman or to marry his son to the daughter of another rich man; in polygamous countries the rich are likely enough to contract *one* such marriage, and thereafter to fill their harems with daughters of the poor or with concubines purchased in the market,—in either case the

wife being chosen for her beauty rather than for her conformity to the wealth, the social status or the religion of the husband. Posterity of such unions is never the posterity of the group. Such unions avoid the test of spiritual health to which each group is subjected by monogamous marriage. Where the posterity of millionaires marries the posterity of other millionaires, or the posterity of nobles, aristocrats, or patricians marries only the posterity of other nobles, aristocrats or patricians, each of these orders is subject to a severe and effective test as to whether it is living and continuing a healthful life. Wherever such orders (as in polygamous countries) are allowed the continuous introduction of a strain of poor or plebeian blood, they avoid this test altogether.

What is true of social orders, distinguished by wealth or rank, is equally true of religious sects. The religious group whose posterity springs from parentage within that group alone, endures a severe test of its spiritual righteousness. Where polygamy encourages a continuous importation of outside mothers, the group test is defective. Thus, the rise of Moslem civilization during the period when each generation of Moslem fathers was impressing maternity upon women of Christian descent, is no evidence of the spiritual value of the Moslem religion. The intellectual brilliance of Cordova in the ninth and tenth centuries sprang from a parentage that was probably fifteen sixteenths Christian. (See Vol. I, par. 69.)

202. Nearly all ancient civilizations may be cited as examples of the certain destructiveness of a single religious belief. Jerusalem, Athens, and Carthage, small groups without spiritual diversity,—each surrendered in time to spiritual error which led all members of the group together down the same spiritual decline. But the most striking example is the rise and decline of Rome. In that city, religious tolerance was founded on the laws of Numa, which gave to each family or *gens* its own household gods. Religious uniformity was not enjoined. Each patrician had his own auspices, each paterfamilias his own Lares and Penates.

As Rome conquered, first the neighboring Italian states, and later the distant countries, it tolerated, sanctioned, and approved the tutelary deities of each. Roman conquests never interfered with the religions of the conquered. After the consolidation of imperial power, when conquest was ended, and imperial policy sought only to defend its existing frontiers, the Christian sect arose. Christians were persecuted intermittently and ineffectively, and their numbers continuously increased. So that for the whole period of eleven centuries from Numa to Theodosius, Rome, as monarchy, republic, and empire, was never without spiritual diversity. With Theodosius there began a new period of about eleven centuries, founded on religious intolerance. An Asiatic form of government and an inquisitorial criminal procedure enabled Christians to stamp out paganism as Pagans had never stamped out Christianity. They were turned next by Christians against Christians. The machinery employed against paganism was moderated by a long tradition of mildness. The tradition was forgotten; and the machinery employed against heresy was sharpened by religious zeal. "Give me the world free from heretics, and I will give thee heaven," said Nestorius to Theodosius II. One side of the bargain was fairly well fulfilled. Orthodox Christianity triumphed, and, for eleven centuries, Christendom, east and west, enjoyed spiritual uniformity. But, as Christendom approached nearer to uniformity it receded further from Heaven, and this period is known as the dark ages. Christianity for its first three centuries had, and appeared to have, superior spiritual guidance. Its converts increased in every province of the empire, and it came to rule the empire itself. If religious intolerance, imposing spiritual uniformity, could ever be justified, the evidence of these three centuries would seem to have justified it. In the fourth century, all Christendom adopted the error of the religious sterilization of the chaste and pious. Religious intolerance made the error universal. And the empire fell for the want of spiritual diversity.

203. Besides the mathematical advantages of diversity which mankind shares with the rest of creation, civilization finds a singular and indispensable advantage in the fact that its highest group—those of augmented nervous organization—are incapable of reproducing themselves in sufficient numbers to maintain the group's existence. Each successive generation that impresses maternity upon cold women, augments posterity's nervous organization and diminishes its fertility, and unless it is continuously recruited from more prolific groups of lower nervous organization, the higher group, with mathematical certainty must perish. A nation which numbered among its inhabitants only the highest civilization would soon disappear from lack of posterity. A nation which numbered among its inhabitants a small group of the highest civilization, and many large and prolific groups of lower and advancing civilization, is sure of greater duration. And, indeed, if it can continue this diversity in true proportions, it is mathematically certain of immortality, not only for the nation but for its civilization.

If the proletariat is free—not enslaved, rationed, overtaxed, chained to the soil, nor subject to national or religious taboo enforced by spies—then the greater the difference between it and the landed, moneyed, or aristocratic class, the greater the vitality of civilization. Civilization cannot advance in a nation that has become homogeneous, because, if the nervous organization of all classes is augmented, the whole nation will be unfertile and cannot maintain its numbers; or if all classes are sufficiently prolific to increase the population, there is no group of augmented nervous organization which can raise further the national civilization. There must be diversity, so that the national political structure resembles the anatomical structure of vertebrates; a small head of augmented nervous organization, guiding and directing a larger body which continuously replenishes it. The nation that is all head or all body cannot survive. It must have men and women as well as ladies and gentlemen.

204. The usual way in which a country gains vertebrate structure is by conquest; the conquering few constituting the country's head, and the subjugated proletariat its body. The immediate result of such conquests is usually a complete diversity between head and body. The conquerors and conquered are separated by differences of race, speech, creed, customs, government, education, ideals, wealth, power, and social status. It is when these differences are greatest that civilization rises provided always that the country's institutions are free. History offers repeated testimony to the advantage of this political structure in raising national civilization.

In Palestine, Israel was the conquering race, and David and Solomon traced their descent from Ruth, a woman of Moab, who gleaned in the fields of Boaz.

In Greece, the conquering race was the Heracleids, and their invasion and conquest was followed by the rise of Hellenic civilization. At the height of Athenian civilization, its political structure had ceased to be vertebrate, and resembled a sponge where all parts are alike. Xenophon notices that "everywhere greater consideration is shown to the base, to poor people, and to common folk, than to persons of good quality," and that they enjoyed the universal right of speech and a seat in Council (Xenophon: *The Polity of Athens*). From this period Athens speedily declined.

In Rome, the political structure was vertebrate from the start. The relation of head and body was strictly preserved in the rule of family, state, religion, army, and industry. A great proportion of Rome's victories were over states that had become homogeneous and had a political organization like a sponge.[1] Under the Christian empire, when diversity

[1] "Before Rome had swallowed up all the other republics, there was scarcely anywhere a king to be found, no, not in Italy, Gaul, Spain, or Germany; they were all petty states or republics. Even Africa itself was subject to a great commonwealth: and Asia Minor was occupied by Greek colonies. One must have gone as far as Persia to find a monarchy." (Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Bk. XI, Chap. VIII.)

was stamped out by inquisition, Rome finally became homogeneous, and from that time Roman civilization fell.

In the territory now called France, civilization rose first after the Roman conquest, and next after the Frankish conquest. In each case, the conquerors were of higher nervous organization, were fewer than the conquered, and established a vertebrate political structure.

In Spain, civilization followed the Roman conquest; rose again after the Moslem conquest; and, a third time, after Ferdinand II reconquered Moslem territories in the thirteenth century. In each instance, the conquerors were fewer in numbers and were different from the conquered in race, speech, creed, customs, government, education, ideals, wealth, power, and social status. Spanish civilization entered on a long decline when the expulsion of Moors and Jews left a homogeneous country without diversity of race, speech, or creed.

In Italy, the invasions and conquest of German princes from the eleventh to the thirteenth century were followed by the Renaissance. Italian genius waned when Italy became homogeneous, and waxed again after the long Austrian domination which ended in the nineteenth century.

In England, the Norman conquest and Norman rule inaugurated a diversity between lords and commons, and a vertebrate political structure, ruling the country by an aristocratic few of augmented nervous organization, which continued unbroken from the eleventh century to the nineteenth century. For eight centuries, England, like Rome, was ruled by a small aristocracy, continuously recruited from the larger body of the common people.

205. A new and dangerous factor, not present in ancient civilizations, now aids the tendency towards national uni-

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The Republics that Rome conquered had usually a headless political organization. Final decisions were made by an assembly of the body of the people. This was true of Carthage, and of the Greek Republics. "In Greece," said Anacharsis, "the sages discuss and the ignorant decide." (Plutarch's *Life of Solon.*)

formity. In ancient civilizations the chief factor tending to make a nation homogeneous was polygamy. By sterilizing cold women of augmented nervous organizations, in all classes of society, polygamy effectually prevented the continuous differentiation of the upper classes from the lower. It fixed a single standard of motherhood which bred low nervous organizations throughout the entire national group, so that, after a few generations of inherited polygamy, all the nation was fungible. The oldest ancient civilization where this factor was not universal was Rome. When that empire reached its greatest extent it included both monogamous and polygamous people. Monogamous marriage was preserved for some generations by the Roman colonists who inherited the laws of Numa; and was then continued for a still further period by all the imperial subjects who had been converted to the religion of Jesus. So that Rome alone, of all ancient civilizations, derived from the institution of monogamous marriage, practiced for many centuries by some part of its inhabitants, the benefits of a continuous diversity. This diversity, while it lasted, prolonged Roman civilization. Monogamous Christians began a new civilization on the Bosphorus when the old one had failed on the Tiber. It was after religious uniformity had been imposed by the imperial government upon all the empire, carrying with it to every province the fatal doctrine of religious sterility, that the imperial subjects became as fungible as the polygamous inhabitants of Asia, and the Christian civilization of Constantinople entered its long decline and decay.

The new factor that now threatens to make monogamous nations as homogeneous as polygamous nations in ancient times, thus destroying the possibility of continued national civilization, is literacy. The invention of printing, and the abundance of cheap printed matter, threatens the absolute extinction of national diversity, even without the government's active efforts toward uniformity. Grant, in any past civilization containing a considerable monogamous group, a national government, continuously guided either

by intellect or by love of freedom (they come to the same thing) sufficient to refrain from imposing upon all its subjects an enforced universal conformity with officially standardized rules of conduct, and it would be possible to postulate from such a government a continuous national diversity. Physical conformity would not be enforced, and the spiritual differences between its separate groups would not be extinguished. But, in all ancient civilizations, the most prolific group was illiterate. Books and printed matter were not cheap, and letters were not a common and universal heritage. This illiterate class could and did continue its class differentiation, class feelings, habits, costumes, diet, traditions and morals separately and distinctly from the lettered classes. It had defects and virtues of its own, and these were not the defects and virtues of the literate and unfertile classes, whose numbers it must replenish. This wholesome diversity between the prolific illiterate, and the unprolific literate classes of society, gave to the Roman empire (Western and Eastern) practically all its genius, after the first century B.C., and Western Christendom again benefited from the same diversity in the whole period of six centuries from the Revival of Learning, to about the year 1900.

206. Universal compulsory instruction of all classes and both sexes in secular orthodoxy inflicts upon a nation the same evils as the universal enforcement of religious orthodoxy. It becomes a mighty engine for the universal dissemination of the same error throughout all the nation. Because man is mortal and fallible it is certain that error will be taught—if not by this generation then by the next or the next after that. No nation can count upon being always right throughout the national existence; and if it perpetuates institutions for the compulsory instruction of all its mortal inhabitants in uniform standards of national orthodoxy (whether religious or secular), especially if they are fixed by numerical majorities and therefore by the most prolific, it is certain that in a period that is very short in

comparison to the expected span of national existence, it will be teaching not universal truth, but universal error.

Universal compulsory instruction by public or national institutions makes this fate certain. It can be avoided only by departing from such universal compulsory instruction and leaving the various national groups to fix, each in its own way, its own separate standard of orthodoxy for the instruction of its own membership. Thus, a nation, embracing many groups of different creed, color, wealth, habits and race, would be instructed in as many different standards of religious and secular orthodoxy as it had separate groups. Its certainty of finding truth would be increased in direct proportion to the multiplication of its different sects and diverse groups; and the universal error, which must be expected with mathematical certainty, from the perpetual teaching of a single standard of orthodoxy to all the national group, would yield to the expectation of perpetual truth reposing in some one of its innumerable minor groups. All those statutes which, enforced by national spies, impose national standards of orthodox instruction or conduct upon all the national inhabitants, inevitably insure national decline and threaten national disaster. They remain, like idols fashioned and painted by a past generation, fixing immovably the objects of posterity's religious or secular veneration, and commanding the slavish obedience of all the rising generations as they annually reach maturity. But the number of the nation's youth that annually attains the electoral franchise is but a small fraction of the nation itself. Annually they are not over one thirtieth, decennially not more than one third of the whole, and their votes are far too few to overthrow the national idols fixed by the dead hand of the national past. A nation thus governed must be always right or perish and no nation can be always right. National salvation cannot be achieved by the virtues of the national dead who belong to past generations, nor by the national living who are continually passing from the scene and taking their place with the national dead. It depends

upon the continuous righteousness of the national future, the new generations that perpetually succeed each other in the national life. While these improve, civilization rises, and the nation endures. And this improvement must be manifest always in the small minority of those who mature each year, usually in a still smaller minority of these. If freedom and diversity enables this minority to live, labor, and breed by its own standards, defying the orthodoxy of the national past, it can perpetually insure the national future. If it is compelled to yield uniform obedience to the national idols, whether religious or secular, sculptured or statutory, fixed by the orthodox standards of the past, then its spiritual life, choked by dead hands, is stifled at birth, and national improvement is impossible.

207. Besides threatening national civilization with extinction, due to universal exposure of all the national groups to a common error, compulsory literacy deprives the proletariat of spiritual qualities necessary for the endurance of national civilization. Literacy and state institutional instruction enable all those members of the proletariat whose nervous organization is at all above the average to depart from the fertile class and to enter the unfertile classes of society. This consequence would be expected by mathematical law.

Every civilization offers visible and immediate worldly rewards to all the mortals of the proletariat who have the mental calibre necessary to leave their class and to enter a higher social class. These rewards are continuously attracting its ablest members and subtracting talent, enterprise, and genius from the state's most prolific group. As they depart from the proletariat, these mortals lose the habits, feelings, and class standards which make for fecundity, and adopt the habits, feelings, and standards of the unprolific class which they enter. Genius is continuously subtracted from the fertile class and continuously sterilized in an unfertile class. This process is necessary in order to create civilization, and the question of an enduring civilization is

purely one of proportion. If genius be thus subtracted from the nation's most prolific group in less numbers than the group can continuously replace, then the process can go on forever. If it be subtracted faster than it be replaced, the process must soon cease. The principle is perfectly illustrated by national taxation. If a nation's annual taxes are far below its annual increase of wealth, then it can continue to pay these taxes, and even to increase them, without arresting the growth of national wealth. If its annual taxes equal or exceed the annual increase in national wealth, the nation will soon be impoverished, and future generations will be unable to pay taxes even as large as those in the past. The same mathematical law applies to the proletariat's contribution to national genius.

If it is comparatively difficult for its augmented nervous organizations to leave the fertile class in which they were born, then each generation of the proletariat will surrender to the unprolific classes only a moderate proportion of its abler mortals. A large proportion will remain fertile in a fertile class, and will continue the production of genius, so that the proletariat's talents are continuously taxed, and continuously increased. This moderate taxation of proletarian talent takes place when the prolific group is unlettered, so that many of its best minds have no opportunity to leave it. The baneful effect of literacy is to give every mortal of the proletariat an outlook into what he supposes to be a brighter land, and a happier group; and then to tempt him by rich bribes and worldly rewards to leave his fertile group for the gaudy prospects of the unfertile groups. Literacy not only tempts him to depart, but is the vehicle on which he begins his ride. In a period of time, which may be estimated at no more than half a century, universal, compulsory, institutional instruction by the state of both sexes and all classes, is capable of transferring all the ability of the proletariat into the unfertile classes of society. This means of course national poverty. The proletariat has paid over all its spiritual and mental wealth, and can produce no more.

The unfertile classes have received and sterilized it. Under these conditions national genius and national civilization must disappear.

208. It used to be thought that teaching letters to the proletariat increased their knowledge—that they would continue to know the things they had known before, and would add new knowledge to the old. It is now known that this is false. That, on the contrary, letters do not add new knowledge to the old; do not even substitute new knowledge for the old; but extinguish the old knowledge, and give nothing or little in return. The group to which Abraham Lincoln was born, was unlettered, and had been unlettered for many generations,—for its whole history. Yet this was a prolific, self-supporting group, possessed of a vast fund of useful knowledge, about a vast number of useful things, which it could make, use, and barter, for the preservation of its own fecundity and independence; and possessed of the habits, feelings and morals absolutely indispensable to national welfare, and which, once lost, are extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, to regain. In the century since Lincoln's birth, this, and like groups, have been made literate not by invitation, but by compulsion. The result has been to lose nearly all the virtues and all the knowledge which they possessed a century ago. It is lost not only to these groups, but to the nation which contained them, for they were peculiarly the virtues and knowledge of those groups alone, and not of the literate national groups. Against the loss of this knowledge and these virtues, there is no off-set. Letters have given to the proletariat no equivalent in return. The nation at large has gained nothing from their compulsory instruction. It still depends, as it must always depend, for its book learning upon the smaller and unprolific groups of augmented nervous organizations. The compulsory literacy of prolific groups of low nervous organizations is simply wholesale robbery from which the robbed and robber equally suffer. Universal compulsory institutional instruction of all classes and both sexes, by the state,

is the most powerful engine ever invented for the perpetual dissemination of the same error among all the mortals of every generation. Ancient falsehoods thrive on it, while old and new truths die. No civilization can withstand or survive it.

209. The expectation of national decline from universal compulsory literacy is confirmed by the evidence of ancient Mediterranean cities. What universal literacy would now accomplish in an extensive nation of one speech with cheap printing everywhere available, was accomplished by the urban conditions of ancient Mediterranean civilization. In all those cities, civilization began to decline when the free population became homogeneous. Like cause and like effect are observable in Athens, Alexandria, Carthage, Rome, and Constantinople. The free proletariat of each city received at the hands of government its rations, education, religion, entertainment, and tasks. All these were equal, uniform, and universal. Continuous speech-making occupied the same place in the city's daily life that newspapers and books do now. All members of the proletariat had an equal opportunity to listen to speeches and to study eloquence; and any member that could excel his fellows was bribed to subtract his abilities from the class of his birth. In a very brief period after the establishment of these conditions in each of these cities, no more genius appeared in the urban proletariat. In the extensive domain of the Roman empire, and outside of the city and suburbs of Rome itself, these conditions did not exist. Accordingly from Trajan to Justinian, there is observed a long succession of genius and talent, contributed to the empire by the proletariat of the provinces, none by the fed and amused proletariat of the cities.

Very striking is the evidence furnished by the Jews in Christian and Moslem Europe. For upward of a thousand years, a Jewish proletariat continued and persisted, eventually penetrating into nearly every country of Western Europe. It had the disadvantage of being always an urban

proletariat; yet few rustic groups have maintained or increased their numbers without fresh strains for so long a time. But the Jews were not a homogeneous part of the nations where they lived; they were not identified with its government or letters; their literacy was in Hebrew alone; and they were never more than tolerated. They were sometimes persecuted by Church or state, but they were never afflicted with governmental benevolence, rations, education, or religion. It was hard for them to leave their own class. There was no generation when Jewish genius was completely skimmed. The result was a record far surpassing the accomplishment of the Jews themselves under their own government in Palestine; and surpassing, so far as I know, the record of any proletariat known to history. For more than a thousand years, from the eminent Jews at the court of Abder Rahman in the Caliphate of Cordova in the ninth century, to the eminent Jews at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella in the fifteenth and Victoria of England in the nineteenth, the Jewish proletariat in some part of Western Europe continued, and still continues, to furnish genius. It is striking testimony to the mathematical benefits of poverty, diversity, state and ecclesiastical freedom, spiritual leadership, and independence.[1]

[1] The Jews have fared better under alien rule than under their own. When the laws of Moses were enforced by the spy government of Jewish kings and priests, life, liberty, and property were held by a very precarious tenure. Taboo was universal, and false accusation, supported by false witnesses, might forfeit the life or property of any man or woman. (See the stories of Naboth's vineyard, I Kings, 21, Suzanna and the Elders, or the Crucifixion of Jesus.) Under the alien rule and example of Christians, monogamy has been generally adopted, the Mosaic taboo largely abandoned, even by orthodox Jews, and Jewish lives are no longer forfeited on an accusation, false or true, of blasphemy or adultery. In most Christian states, Jews have imitated or have adopted the habits, morals, dress, and demeanor of Christians; they keep the Christian calendar and holidays, and limit their orthodox observances to circumcision, a slight peculiarity of diet, and the addition, to the Christian holidays which they also keep, of certain holidays of their own.

210. Nearly as interesting is the testimony afforded by the English proletariat during a period of six centuries. At the time of the Norman conquest, all the land was seized and parcelled out among the invaders. All the English were a subject race, mostly serfs and servants of the victorious Normans. All the landlords were a foreign race, of foreign speech, habits, customs, and ideals. Normans filled the offices of state and Church, Norman-French and Latin were the official, courtly, and clerical languages. English was only the barbarous tongue of unlettered peasants. But the great nobles endowed religious houses for the proud Norman race, and excluded the humble English poor. For three centuries, the English proletariat, having its own monogamous marriage customs, was barred from the religious sterilization of piety, chastity, or genius in either sex. In two centuries, its accumulation of each had improved it to a par with the Normans. In another century, its best units began to surpass and displace them. And, counting from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, this English group, beginning as an unrelieved proletariat, continued for six centuries to increase its numbers and to yield an unfailing supply of rising genius and augmented nervous organizations without ever suffering either spiritual or corporeal exhaustion.

Its psychical history is almost identical with the Jews in Christendom. It began with religious separation from the haughty governing class,[1] but when this ended (in the fourteenth century), a large group of the English proletariat had become Lollards; had separated themselves from the established Church and the Roman hierarchy; and, like the Jews, pursued (subject to persecution) spiritual independence under their own spiritual leadership. Lollardy was

[1] "The occupation of every see and abbacy by strangers who could only speak to their flocks in an unknown tongue converted religion from a supersition into a reality as it passed from the priest to the people, and hermit and friar carried spiritual life home to the heart of the nation at large." (Green, *Short History of the English People*, Chap. II, Sect. 1.)

followed by the Reformation; Protestantism by new dissenting sects. There was always a state religion and a state Church. But, for eight centuries, part or all of the English proletariat were separated from it either by Norman hauteur or by humble conviction.

The same identity exhibited by the religious experiences of Jewish and English proletariat is shown in their literate relations to the governing classes. During all the time that Norman-French and Latin were the official, courtly, and clerical language, the proletariat had only their own barbarous, unliteral English tongue. When genius, sprung from the proletariat, wrote in its own language, and began the rise of English literature, it came singly, and was subtracted but slowly from its fertile class. A huge, prolific and illiterate group was still uninspired and unimpaired. Genius was separated with difficulty; slowly, grudgingly, and gingerly, and much of it always remained behind.

There was the same identity with Jewish experience in the pursuit of wealth. No member of the English proletariat had an easy road to fortune, office, or power. The rich preserved their fortunes and estates by the law of primogeniture, which left in each generation younger sons and dependants to be provided for. By the favor and influence of family and friends, these were always pushed into places with the state and Church. In Norman times, rigid exclusion of the English was the rule. When Norman polity had created an English aristocracy to succeed and displace the Normans, rigid exclusion of the proletariat was still the rule. Offices and benefices were given to dependants of the rich. Like the Jewish, the English proletariat were never afflicted with governmental benevolence, rations, education, or religion. It was hard for them to leave their own class. They were not despoiled but despised and left with all their genius in them.

And, last resemblance of Jewish and British proletariat, the island of Britain was not homogeneous. It contained three great divisions, which during most of these eight cen-

turies hated, feared or despised each other—England, Scotland, and Wales. Scotland not only differed from England, but lowland and highland Scots differed from each other. The Welsh differed from English and Scotch. And, in England itself, the ancient boundaries of the Saxon heptarchy marked divisions of language and custom that made the English of one part of the island seem to the English of another part, a strange folk, speaking a foreign tongue. Their marriage customs were not the same. To most of the proletariat, religious marriage was until the Reformation probably unknown. Many of the peasantry were married by the voluntary cohabitation of man and woman for a year and a day. In various parts of the island, "bundling" and "hand-fasting" continued to the nineteenth century. Altogether, the proletariat of the island as a whole, during these eight centuries was generally separated as far in fact from the religion, language, letters, habits, morals, marriage customs, and ideals of happiness of the rich literate governing classes, as the Jews of Europe were separated from their Christian oppressors.

211. The island of Great Britain therefore, furnishes, on a smaller scale, as plain an example of the results of diversity as the Jews of Western Europe. It was never homogeneous. It never extracted in a single generation or century all the gold from its fertile class. The result has been exactly the same as in the case of the Jewish group. The proletariat has for six centuries furnished an apparently inexhaustible fountain of English genius. To the very end of this period, when compulsory literacy on an insular scale threatens to make the whole island literate and homogeneous, there was no sign of its spiritual or corporeal exhaustion. Genius sprung from the proletariat of the nineteenth century is too near and too numerous, to be catalogued here (the reader will find it to better advantage in the *Dictionary of National Biography*), but it is extremely interesting to look at the eighteenth century, a period when the illiterate English poor had been yielding genius for five hundred years, and were

still going strong. Gray, in the *Elegy*, testifies to the augmented nervous organizations locked in the fertile class of society.

"Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
Hands, that the rod of empire might have sway'd,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre:

But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll;
Chill Penury repress'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul."

Professor Dicey calls the system of national education in England at this period "dificient or rather non-existent." This had been true as to the English poor for the whole seven centuries since the Norman conquest; yet "there is probably no period in English history at which a greater number of poor men have risen to distinction" than at the end of the eighteenth century, and at the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

"The greatest beyond comparison of self-taught poets was Burns (1759–1796). The political writer who was at the time producing the most marked effect was Thomas Paine (1737–1809), son of a small tradesman. His successor in influence was William Cobbett (1762–1835), son of an agricultural labourer, and one of the pithiest of all English writers. William Gifford (1756–1826), son of a small tradesman in Devonshire, was already known as a satirist and was to lead Conservatives as Editor of *The Quarterly Review*. John Dalton (1766–1842), son of a poor weaver, was one of the most distinguished men of science. Porson (1759–1808), the greatest Greek scholar of his time, was son of a Norfolk parish clerk, though sagacious patrons had sent him to Eton in his fifteenth year. The Oxford professor of Arabic, Joseph White (1746–1814), was son of a poor weaver in the country, and a man of reputation for learning, although now remembered only for a rather disreputable literary squabble. Robert Owen and Joseph Lancaster both sprung from the ranks, were leaders in social movements. I have already

spoken of such men as Watt, Teeford, and Rennie; and smaller names might be added in literature, science, and art. The individualist virtue of 'self-help' was not confined to successful money making or to the wealthier classes. One cause of the literary excellence of Burns, Paine, and Cobbett may be that, when literature was less centralized, a writer was less tempted to desert his natural dialect. I mention the fact, however, merely to suggest that, whatever were then the difficulties of getting such schooling as is now common, an energetic lad even in the most neglected regions might force his way to the front." (Leslie Stephen, *English Utilitarians*, Chap. III, Social Problems.) Francis Place should certainly have been added to this list.

Like a real man of letters, Leslie Stephen gives only the examples of literary eminence. Many more names should be added of men whose ability was displayed in art, discovery, invention, and production. Moreover, the same proletariat group, transferred from England to the colonies, including America, added their abundant quota. All this genius was produced in the eighteenth century without impoverishing the group, for the same proletariat in the nineteenth century produced still more. Yet all this productivity of genius did not reduce their corporeal fertility or diminish their numbers. The English proletariat was still so prolific that it vastly increased the population of England itself and furnished a surplus to people America and the colonies. As long as they were unlettered, they continued prolific in body and mind.

CHAPTER XV

Spy Government

212. In those human relations between group and mortal which are connoted by the various terms, ruler and subjects, government and governed, or state and people, history records two opposite principles of administering adjective criminal law. The one principle, called the accusatory or litigious method, is present in rising civilizations. The opposite or inquisitorial method appears in stagnant or declining civilizations. Where the accusatory method prevails, substantive law, written or unwritten, simply defines those offences which are cognizable by the courts or tribunals of government. Prosecutions are initiated and carried on by individuals, usually by citizens in their private capacity, or exceptionally, by government or crown officers prosecuting as citizens, and enjoying no other or different rights than private prosecutors. A criminal action prosecuted in the name of the crown, is actually a litigation between prosecutor and defendant, in which the state does not take sides, but delivers judgment through its established tribunals.

By the opposite or inquisitorial method, the crown, state, or Church, through its officers, is the active instigator of the prosecution, carries it through to trial and judgment, enjoys in its official capacity rights of inquisition denied to private persons, and delivers through its own tribunals judgment for or against the defendant, which it has officially examined, prosecuted, and tried. Under this method, substantive law ceases to be merely a definition; it becomes a

rule of conduct, imposed and enforced by crown, state, or Church upon its subject peoples. Punishment instead of being a redress for injury, is a penalty for disobedience. Disobedience is the whole case. Injury is not even implied.

The importance of these opposing principles to the study of civilization is apparent. If diversity promotes the rise of civilization, and uniformity heralds its fall, then it would be expected that the accusatory or litigious method of criminal procedure, wherein substantive law only defines what is actionable, and is not a rule of conduct to which universal obedience is enforced, would be found as the criminal procedure of rising civilizations; and that the opposite, or inquisitorial procedure, wherein substantive law is a uniform rule of conduct to which the state undertakes to compel universal obedience, would be found in stagnant and declining civilizations. Moreover, where prosecutions are founded upon disobedience rather than injury, paid spies must be employed to prosecute; since private citizens, busy with their own affairs, usually will not prosecute unless injured. So that in the relations of government and governed as they affect civilization, stagnation and decay are invariably accompanied by:—

I. Uniformity instead of diversity.

II. Inquisitorial criminal procedure, compelling uniform obedience to expressed governmental will.

III. Official spies to prosecute disobedience; so that government becomes a spy system, and a body of paid spies constitute the government.

213. Government is a group, and therefore demortal. Defendants are mortals. Accordingly the change from litigious to inquisitorial criminal procedure, is a change from the prosecution of mortals by mortals to a prosecution of mortals by demortals. The special significance of this change lies in the ability of a group to perpetuate error. Where substantive law defines what is actionable, but prosecutors, like defendants, are mortal, error is mortal. It dies along with those who believed it. There will be a generation which

thinks witches, usurers, heretics, or papists worse than thieves; and there will be many prosecutions of those suspected of these offences. Time passes. In a century, the population has been removed and renewed three times. In the new century, the offences of witchcraft, usury, heresy, or popery, are not different from what they were. The same evidence by which they were formerly proved is still available. The same courts have cognizance of them; and the same punishments are denounced against them. Nothing has changed except that a generation has died, and another generation has come on the scene. Yet, in the new century, there will be found no prosecutions of offences that were often prosecuted in the past. Men find that they are injured by one who steals their sheep, but not by one who goes to mass. So they still prosecute for the crime of sheep-stealing which brings them injury, but not for differences of religious opinion, which are simply disobedience.

Under a system of spy government and an inquisitorial procedure, this change from generation to generation does not take place. A force of spies continuously recruited and maintained is demortal. They are not concerned with injury or redress, but are paid to discover and punish disobedience. They act officially and under the orders of government, instead of privately and upon their own initiative. So that the changes which mortality brings to individuals do not affect a group of spies. From generation to generation they continue to perform the same duties, gather the same evidence, prosecute the same offences, a demortal system pitted against mortal defenders. Disobedience, which was wicked in the past century, is wicked in this century, and in the century to come. So long, therefore, as substantive law remains unchanged, the cessation of prosecutions, invariably seen in the litigious system of mortal prosecutors, never occurs under the inquisitorial system and the demortal group of spy prosecutors. Light does not penetrate a group of spies. The errors of past substantive law never die. Future generations are governed by mort-

main. The dead hand of an ignorant and superstitious past, still seizes and punishes its unfortunate victim in an enlightened future. The method of progress whereby a few advance beyond the many, to be followed in time by all, as new generations are born, cannot avail against an effective spy system. The accusatory system of criminal procedure affords to these few a means of escape from substantive law, established and supported by a past majority, because mortals will neglect to prosecute. The inquisitorial system, operated by a demortal group of spies, affords to a minority no escape from prosecution, and enlightenment is snuffed out while it is yet feeble. Stagnation necessarily and invariably follows.

214. Spy government has been established so long in the gibbous civilizations of Asia, that the earliest writings record it. Indeed, it was characteristic of Asia during all the period when it was unknown in the Roman empire; and, after the fall of Rome, continued its Asiatic existence while modern civilization, founded on German law and customs, was again slowly rising in Western Europe. If the Byzantine empire, which was more oriental than European in its characteristics, be excepted, these opposing principles of criminal jurisprudence may be very fairly distinguished for about twenty-five hundred years by geographical terms. The inquisitorial system, operated by spies, was Asiatic. The litigious system of private rather than government prosecutions was European.

Spy government in Asia is first recounted by Strabo, who describes the seven castes in India.

"The sixth caste is that of the Ephori, or inspectors. They are intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king. The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the city courtesans; and the inspectors of the camp, the women who follow it. The best and most faithful persons are appointed to the office of inspector." Strabo, *Geography:* India, Bk. XV, Chap. I, Par. 48.)

The author of *Public Administration in Ancient India* covers the millennium 500 B.C. to 500 A.D., and has derived his evidence from the original Sanscrit.

"The most important of the civil administrative departments was that of the Police. . . . Allied with the Police Department was the Intelligence Department, which seems to have been under the direct control of one of the Ministers, usually the Collector-general. The 'reporters' helped the police in detecting criminals. They also gave the Ministers information regarding the loyal or disloyal feelings of the people, and kept them acquainted with the conduct of Government officials. They apprised the Ministers of the doings of foreign kings and of their intrigues within the kingdom. They were sometimes sent to foreign countries to win over the disaffected people. The 'reporters' worked under various disguises,—as recluses, ascetics, desperadoes, buffoons, commercial travellers, physicians, musicians, idiots, and lunatics." (Pramathanath Banerjea, Chap. X.)

The foregoing quotations sufficiently show spy government in full and successful operation in ancient India, upward of two thousand years ago. It was the same at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The entire population was subject to the espionage of the Kotwal, or chief of police.

"Apart from torture, the police depended upon espionage, a subject on which Akbar's regulations are clear and detailed. An 'obscure resident' was to be appointed as a spy in each quarter of the city; detectives were to watch all arrivals at the inns or *sarais;* the lives of individuals were to be carefully scrutinised; and speaking generally, it was the Kotwal's business to know everything that happened and to act on his knowledge."

"The city artisan had doubtless to secure the favour of the subordinates and spies detailed by the Kotwal for the supervision of the locality in which he lived, and outside the cities there were other minor officials to be propitiated." (Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, Chap. II, pp. 39, 51.)

As it will appear in the examination of other groups that spy government is adopted when civilization reaches its

zenith, and begins to decline, it is a reasonable inference that in India, as elsewhere, civilization rose during the period when absence of spy government permitted diversity; and that a permanent decline began when spy government established uniformity.

Spy government in China from the earliest times, may be inferred from the prohibitory laws enacted from time to time from the eleventh century B.C. when an emperor "ordered all the vines in the kingdom to be uprooted." (See paragraph 186). A like inference arises from Marco Polo's description of the imperial city of Tai-du built by Kublai Khan.

"In the centre of the city there is a great bell suspended in a lofty building, which is sounded every night, and after the third stroke no person dares to be found in the streets, unless upon some urgent occasion, such as to call assistance to a woman in labour, or a man attacked with sickness; and even in such necessary cases the person is required to carry a light." (*Travels of Marco Polo*, Bk. II, Chap. VII.)

All these decrees prohibiting indulgence in the customary temptations and dissipations of mankind, must have been enforced by official spies and prosecutors. None of them could have been enforced by the accusatory or litigious method of criminal procedure. Spy government, therefore, may be predicated as the usual method of internal administration in China.

In Babylon and Persia, government absolutism and a government spy system are fully attested. The books of Daniel, Esther and Maccabees display to perfection the Asiatic model of government organization. It may be seen also in Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*. When Diocletian, at the close of the third century A.D. changed the model of Roman government from Western to oriental, he copied the Persian administration. And from this time, the Roman empire, Western and Eastern, was governed on Asiatic lines.

215. In the annals of Israel, Greece, and Rome, it is unnecessary to rely upon inference; historical evidence of the change from litigious to inquisitorial criminal procedure,

from diversity to uniformity, is plainly found. In each group this change foreshadows its decline and fall.

Israel.

Moses gave substantive law to Israel, but not adjective law. From the settlement in the land of Canaan to the period of hereditary kings, the people of Israel enjoyed an ideal perfection of freedom, seldom equalled and never surpassed by any human group which has attained sufficient civilization to record its annals in written history. Freedom could go no further because it had reached zero. There was an inherited code of substantive law to which nothing was added, and from which nothing was subtracted.[1] Each generation, therefore, succeeded to the same freedom as their fathers, and transmitted it unimpaired to their sons. Until the era of kings there was no machinery for making new laws, and no procedure for enforcing uniform obedience to the old. Of those branches of government established in modern times, the executive, legislative, and judicial, two were absent. There was no power to levy or collect a governmental tax, no executive to be supported by taxation, or to initiate criminal prosecution, no governmental or priestly spies to detect or prosecute disobedience to the inherited law. There was no inquisition and no criminal actions were brought except in accordance with litigious criminal procedure by private prosecutors, seeking redress for injury rather than punishment for disobedience. All this perfection of the ideal of human freedom is summed up in the last verse of the last chapter of Judges:

"In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." (Judges, XXI, 25.)

[1] Even the prohibitions of Moses' substantive law may have been unknown to Israel during this period of its rise. In II Kings chap. XXII and II Chronicles, Chap. XXXIV, there is related a story of a book found and brought to King Josiah which may have been the book of Mosaic law. The last verse of Judges indicates that the Hebrew pioneers lived for several generations without taboo of any kind; certainly without spy government.

Israel's change to the rule of kings introduced the absolute government common to Asia and to polygamous peoples generally. The crown enforced uniformity, disobedience was hunted out by spies and destroyed. If a system of spy government, and an enforced obedience to the religious ideals of an exalted ruler, could save a nation, then King Josiah would have saved Israel. In II Kings, Chapter XXIII, there is described how he destroyed idolatry, slew all the priests of the high places, and put away "the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah, and in Jerusalem." Spy government was complete and perfect, and the land was purified as far as government could purify it. It availed nothing. In the next generation, Israel's fall was complete. The Babylonian captivity began.

216. *Greece.*

The number of independent states and cities and the variety of political institutions in Greece throughout the rise of Hellenic civilization, forbid the tracing of a chronological boundary for all Greece, between litigious and inquisitorial administration of the criminal law. There is, however, an important geographical boundary between Athens and Sparta. The criminal procedure of Athens was established by the laws of Solon on the accusatory principle; in Sparta there was a state police, spy government, and an Asiatic or inquisitorial criminal procedure. In the free institutions of republican Athens, there was no inquisition, but every citizen was allowed to bring a prosecution for crime, in which respect they were afterwards imitated by Rome under the laws of Numa, and by England under the Common Law

"And for the greater security of the weak commons, he gave general liberty of indicting for an act of injury; if any one was beaten, maimed, or suffered any violence, any man that would and was able might prosecute the wrong-doer; intending by this to accustom the citizens, like members of

the same body, to resent and be sensible of one another's injuries." (Plutarch's *Lives*, Solon.)

Athens was plagued by mercenary informers; but there is no evidence that, during the rise of Athenian civilization to the age of Pericles, there existed the institution of a state police, or a paid spy system charged with compelling uniform obedience to the laws or discipline of the state. The evidence is opposed to any such theory. The general freedom and independence of an Athenian male citizen of this period, indicates a people defiant of espionage and accustomed to freedom.

In Sparta, on the other hand, a complete system of spy government was established by the *ephors*. Spartan laws could not be enforced without them. Sparta was highly policed, and every Spartan citizen was born, and grew up, under a system of espionage which enforced upon all a uniform obedience to Spartan discipline. See the evidence as recited by Grote.

"For real political orders, in the greatest cases as well as the least, the Spartan looks to the council of ephors, to whom obedience is paid with a degree of precision which nothing short of the Spartan discipline could have brought about—by the most powerful citizens not less than by the meanest. Both the internal police and the foreign affairs of the state are in the hands of the ephors, who exercise an authority approaching to despotism, and altogether without accountability. They appoint and direct the body of 300 young and active citizens, who performed the immediate police service of Laconia: they cashier at pleasure any subordinate functionary, and inflict fine or arrest at their own discretion: they assemble the military force, on occasion of foreign war, and determine its destination, though the king has the actual command of it: they imprison on suspicion even the regent or the king himself: they sit as judges, sometimes individually and sometimes as a board, upon causes and complaints of great moment, and they judge without the restraint of written laws, the use of which was peremptorily forbidden by a special Rhetra." (Grote, *History of Greece*, Part II, Chap. VI.)

Plutarch describes Sparta as a nation of busy-bodies, where everyone was expected, under pain of punishment, to spy upon everyone else.

"He who did not reprove a fault that was committed in his presence and showed not his just resentment of it by a verbal correction, was adjudged equally culpable with the guilty, and obnoxious to the same punishment." (Plutarch's *Morals*, Laws and Customs of the Lacedæmonians.)

Uniformity was carried out to the minutest detail equally from one generation to the next, and between those of the same generation. The *Ephori* deprived Terpander, an eminent musician, of his harp, because he had added one string to it contrary to the custom of the past.

In Athens and Sparta, accordingly, these opposite principles of adjective law were tried for a considerable period by two groups, both of the Hellenic race.[1] In the extreme freedom of Athens without the institution of spy government, Greek intellect reached its height; and did not decline until the citizens themselves began to act as spies one upon another, and enforced uniformity—as when they condemned Socrates to death. In Sparta, where the system of spy government had long prevailed, intellect remained always low, intellectual genius was unknown, and no Spartan intellectual monuments survive. Under the system of spy government, Spartan military power declined, and was finally overwhelmed. A state which never had been an intellectual, but had been a military power, finally ceased to be either.

217. *Rome.*

During the rising civilization of Rome, under the republic, and afterward under imperial rule, certainly as late as the end of the Antonines, probably to the reign of Diocletian,

[1] "The great difference which Lycurgus established between Sparta and the other cities, consists chiefly in the obedience the citizens show to their laws; they run when the magistrate calls them. But at Athens a rich man would be highly displeased to be thought dependent on the magistrate." (Xenophon, *Republic of the Lacedæmonians.*)

spy government was virtually unknown. It was impossible to surpass the ideal freedom of rising Jewish civilization, but republican Rome came nearest to equalling it. Like Israel, the Romans lived under a body of inherited laws to which there was no annual addition. There were no political parties using legislative and executive power, to regulate by the votes of a part of one generation, the conduct of all succeeding generations. In respect to the making of new laws, the *decemvirs* added to the ten tables two more, making twelve. Under these twelve tables the Roman people lived for about three centuries with little change; and such changes as were made were in the direction of freedom. Tribunes of the people were increased, public lands were allotted to the plebeians, imprisonment for debt was abolished, the harshness of punishment was modified, intermarriage between patricians and plebeians was allowed. During this period, each Roman inherited as much freedom as his father or grandfather had enjoyed; and each transmitted the same freedom to his sons. The multiplication of new crimes and new punishments was unknown; criminal procedure was wholly litigious; and there was no system of government or priestly spies to detect or to prosecute disobedience to penal laws. Private injuries brought to the cognizance of the Roman courts were punished by private prosecutions. Vice was left to punish itself. In the pages of Livy, one observes that, upon the annual election of consuls, their respective provinces were assigned by lot; that they were authorized to levy soldiers sufficient to fill their legions; that they performed the public religious observances; and that after the sacrifices had been made, and the auspices had been taken, they repaired to their military camps, leaving the Roman citizens each to rule himself in obedience to the deities of his own household, subject to prosecution and punishment only if he trespassed upon another.[1]

[1] Romulus had instituted a royal guard of three hundred men which might have served to enforce obedience to royal decrees. Numa dismissed them. (Plutarch, *Life of Numa.*)

It is in the second century B.C. that Livy describes for the first time an extensive public prosecution initiated by the government to suppress an imported vice. The Bacchanal orgies were brought into Italy by a Greek of mean condition, and spread rapidly among the Italian provincials and plebeians. A Roman police or spy system would have discovered them. In fact, they were disclosed, almost by accident, through the conversation of a courtesan. The senate was much stirred; and committed to the consuls "the holding an inquiry, *out of the common course*, concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies. They order them to take care that the informers, Ælbutius and Fecenia, might suffer no injury on that account; and to invite other informers in the matter, by offering rewards." The rise among plebeians of a numerous and extensive association devoted to criminal practices in nocturnal meetings, without even attracting the attention of the senate or magistrates, and the unusual procedure especially adopted to discover the devotees of the new vice, are sufficient proof that a regular system of spy government did not exist.[1]

218. After the disorders of the first century B.C. and the restoration of tranquillity under the empire, spy government was equally unknown.

"There was in the Roman legal system no public prosecutor and virtually no police. Every Roman citizen was supposed to watch over the laws and see that they were not infringed." (Ferrero, *The Women of the Cæsars*, Chap. IV.)

"The Romans did not possess an officer whose duties were those of a prosecuting attorney in the service of the state. A crime might be committed, but no notice would be taken of it until some citizen formally presented a charge against the

[1] When Livy describes criminal prosecutions brought by public officers, he usually explains that they prosecute as private persons. Thus:

"Many severe sentences were passed this year on usurers, who were prosecuted, as private persons, by the curule ædiles, Marcus Tuccius and Publius Junius Brutus." (Livy, *History of Rome*, Bk. XXXV, Chap. 4.)

alleged criminal. Instituting a criminal action was dependent almost wholly upon private initiative, for the state very rarely undertook a prosecution on its own motion or on its own responsibility." (Husband, *The Prosecution of Jesus*, Chap. VII.)

"That great engine of modern despotisms, a paid police, was unknown. The 'Cause of Order,' or the 'Pax Romana,' as they would have called it, did not require for its preservation any elaborate machinery of espionage, passports, deportations, or other ingenious expedients, known to the absolutism of the nineteenth century." (Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, Lecture II.)

Thus, Roman criminal procedure, as it existed for upward of a thousand years, recognized no such office as spy, policeman, or public prosecutor. No person and no body of persons was regularly appointed and paid by the state to prosecute disobedience to the laws. Every citizen had an equal right to bring such a prosecution; but he prosecuted as a private citizen, upon his own initiative, in a procedure that was wholly litigious, and not at all inquisitorial. As wealth increased, there sprung into existence a class of informers who exercised the common birthright of every Roman citizen to institute prosecutions; but exercised it for private gain and against rich and vulnerable defendants, one-fourth of whose goods were forfeited to the informer who succeeded in convicting them. Under Tiberius, these informers revived the *Lex de Majestate* (on high treason) as a convenient engine for the acquisition of wealth. Such private prosecutions spread terror among the rich, but overlooked the poor, the lowly, and the obscure. Most of the early Christians belonged to the latter class; and the spread of Christianity for two centuries after the death of Jesus, may be justly ascribed to the lack of a paid spy system. The poverty of Christians was not attractive to venal reformers; and those who were moved by public spirit or religious zeal, prosecuted under considerable disadvantages.

"If they succeeded in their prosecution, they were exposed to the resentment of a considerable and active party,

to the censure of the more liberal portion of mankind, and to the ignominy which, in every age and country, has attended the character of an informer. If, on the contrary, they failed in their proofs, they incurred the severe and perhaps capital penalty which, according to a law published by the emperor Hadrian, was inflicted on those who falsely attributed to their fellow-citizens the crime of Christianity. The violence of personal or superstitious animosity might sometimes prevail over the most natural apprehensions of disgrace and danger; but it cannot surely be imagined that accusations of so unpromising an appearance were either lightly or frequently undertaken by the Pagan subjects of the Roman empire." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XVI.)

In the whole period of about three centuries from the Crucifixion to the Edict of Milan in the reign of Constantine, ten persecutions of Christians are enumerated; that is, about one for each generation. But under a litigious system of criminal procedure these persecutions so far from exterminating an obnoxious sect, scarcely even retarded its growth. Gibbon computed that in the tenth and worst persecution, the number of Christians in the Roman empire on whom a capital punishment was inflicted by a judicial sentence was somewhat less than two thousand. (*Ibid.*)

219. The change in Roman adjective law, from a litigious to an inquisitorial criminal procedure, dates from the fourth century. The ground was prepared by Diocletian, last of the Pagan emperors, who, at the end of the third century, remodeled the public administration on Asiatic lines.[1] The seed was planted by Constantine, first of the

[1] "'Rome and her provinces,' says the historian of the Cæsars, 'lived for three centuries beneath the laws and traditions of Augustus. It was at a later period that, decrepit and struggling for existence, it accepted, as the veteran's crutch, the puerile and oriental system of administration which it received from Diocletian.'" (Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, Lecture II.)

"Instead of those salutary restraints which had required the direct and solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as well as the interest of the Imperial officers to discover, to pursue, and to torment the

Christian emperors, who formed a body of ten thousand "official spies." The new system attained sturdy growth under Theodosius, who instituted the office of "Inquisitors of the Faith." It flourished throughout the whole history of the Eastern empire, and its fruits may be seen in eleven centuries of stagnation and decay. In the west its growth was retarded by the Teutonic conquests, which, in the western provinces, revived the litigious procedure common alike to early Rome and to the German tribes; but it was not uprooted and its fruits are not yet wholly gathered in western Europe.

The growth of inquisition, under Constantine and his successors, which in a single century changed the Roman criminal procedure from the litigious to the inquisitorial system, may be traced in the following evidence:

"The perpetual intercourse between the court and the provinces was facilitated by the construction of roads and the institution of posts. But these beneficial establishments were accidentally connected with a pernicious and intolerable abuse. Two or three hundred *agents* or messengers were employed, under the jurisdiction of the master of the offices, to announce the names of the annual consuls and the edicts or victories of the emperors. They insensibly assumed the license of reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct either of magistrates or of private citizens; and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch and the scourge of the people. Under the warm influence of a feeble reign they multiplied to the incredible number of ten thousand, disdained the mild though frequent admonitions of the laws,

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most obnoxious among the faithful. Heavy penalties were denounced against all who should presume to save a proscribed sectary from the just indignation of the gods of the emperors. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this law, the virtuous courage of many of the Pagans, in concealing their friends or relations, affords an honorable proof that the rage of superstitition had not extinguished in their minds the sentiments of nature and humanity." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XVI.) This earliest instance of criminal prosecutions systematically instituted as a part of their duties by imperial officers occurred under Diocletian.

and exercised in the profitable management of the posts a rapacious and insolent oppression. These official spies who regularly corresponded with the palace, were encouraged, by favour and reward, anxiously to watch the progress of every treasonable design, from the faint and latent symptoms of the disaffection, to the actual preparation of an open revolt. Their careless or criminal violation of truth and justice was covered by the consecrated mask of zeal; and they might securely aim their poisoned arrows at the breast either of the guilty or the innocent, who had provoked their resentment, or refused to purchase their silence. A faithful subject, of Syria perhaps, or of Britain, was exposed to the danger, or at least to the dread, of being dragged in chains to the court of Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and fortune against the malicious charge of these privileged informers. The ordinary administration was conducted by those methods which extreme necessity can alone palliate; and the defects of evidence were diligently supplied by the use of torture." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XVII.)

The new criminal procedure was first employed by Valentinian to suppress the black arts of magic and sorcery, fear of which had greatly magnified with the declining intellect of the Roman populace. Gibbon describes the true attitude of inquisitorial tribunals.

"They easily discovered that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated by the Imperial court according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal, but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury or procured by torture to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the inquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution; the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim who discovered his real or pretended accomplices was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia the young and the aged were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers expired in ignominious

and cruel tortures. The soldiers who were appointed to guard the prisons declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight or resistance of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that in the obnoxious provinces the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives formed the greatest part of the inhabitants." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XXV.)

Under Theodosius, it was employed against the Pagans.

"Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *Inquisitors of the Faith*, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius.

"The influence which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian and the piety of Theodosius was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their Imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the subjects of the empire who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors; *that* the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit or to punish; and *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities and real dæmons is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses and the examples of Jewish history[1] were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied by the clergy to the mild and universal reign of Christianity. The zeal of the emperors was excited to vindicate their own honour and that of the Deity; and the temples of the Roman world were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine." (*Ibid.*, Chap. XXVII.)

Theodosius abolished the subterraneous brothels of Rome which had existed for a thousand years. This is cogent evidence of the change from litigious to inquisitorial criminal

[1] St. Ambrose expressly praises and recommends the zeal of Josiah in the destruction of idolatry.

procedure. For, under the former, brothels, though forbidden by law, usually exist. They will withdraw to a neighborhood where they are not obnoxious and, therefore, are not exposed to the private prosecutions instituted by virtuous neighbors. Prosecution by their inmates or customers is unknown. So that, under a litigious criminal procedure, they may be at the same time unlawful and unpunished. Inquisitorial procedure employs paid spies to hunt them out; *agents provocateurs* to furnish evidence; official prosecutors to institute proceedings; and thus secures their conviction and punishment for disobedience to law without any allegation of injury or motive of redress. The immediate effect of a change from litigious to inquisitorial procedure is usually the suppression of brothels. The ultimate effect is their toleration by law.

220. *Western Europe.*

The barbarian inundations which flooded the Western empire after the fifth century, obliterated Roman law and spy government. The invaders from northern Europe brought their laws with their language; and, in their system of law, there was no inquisitorial criminal procedure, and there were no governmental spies. For many centuries, the disorders of the times, the continuous warfare, the rise and fall of kingdoms and states, and the succession of invasions, effectually forbade the establishment of a durable, centralized government, capable of enforcing uniform obedience to its statutes or decrees. Kings were merely overlords, and feudal tenures gave to the territorial nobility the immediate jurisdiction of their fiefs. At first, criminal prosecutions were brought in the manorial or county courts. Cases were tried in the vicinage. The king's assizes did not begin to be regularly held, nor assize towns to rise, until the thirteenth century; and when criminal jurisdiction was again exercised, and crime prosecuted and punished in the name of the crown or central government, the criminal procedure of the common law of Franks, Teutons, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians, was wholly litigious, not at all

inquisitorial. Volume I of the publications of the Selden Society gives "Select Pleas of the Crown," A.D. 1200–1225. All the criminal prosecutions here related were brought by the litigious method of prosecution by one subject prosecuting another for the redress of an injury; none by the inquisitorial method where the crown seeks, on its own initiative, and by its own officers or spies, to prosecute and punish disobedience to its own laws.

In the common law of northern Europe, there was no system of government spies or public prosecutors. The office of "constable" which appeared later as a guardian of the king's peace, gained its title from *comes stabuli*, late Latin for the master of the king's stables. In old German, and old English, Norse, or Danish, the word "police" was unknown alike to their language and to their thoughts. In Germany, "*polizei*" is a borrowed word for an imported idea. In the Arabian Nights, there are no lawyers, no highly organized system of law and jurisprudence, based on precedent, and no judge higher than the cadi, who was a sort of notary and police justice combined. But police and chief of police are well known figures.[1] In early English history Norman law, Norman lawyers, chancellors, judges, and chief justices, administering a highly organized system of jurisprudence, based on carefully recorded precedents, are familiar figures. But as late as the age of Elizabeth, Shakespeare, in all the variety of his human characters and the wealth of his vocabulary, introduces no policeman, or chief of police into his plays, and the idea, as well as the word, "police" is wholly unknown to him. It

[1] Between the criminal jurisprudence of the different nations of Christendom, there were minor differences; but a great gulf separated Christendom from Islam. Cervantes who knew the Moors well, having been detained by them five years for ransom, notices the difference:

"And here you see them come out to execute the sentence, although the offence has been scarcely committed; for among the Moors there are no indictments nor remands as with us." (Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, Part II, Chap. XXVI.)

was still foreign to English ideas and language in the eighteenth century.[1]

Gibbon, in the history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, uses "police" only twice, once in a footnote, and then italicizes it as a foreign word. The imperial Roman police are described by Gibbon as ten thousand "official spies." In the nineteenth century, the English translators of Strabo called the Indian police *ephori* or "inspectors." About the middle of the nineteenth century, legislation created a permanent force of metropolitan police in London and New York; and it is not until after this that the word "police," as well as the idea of a permanent body of paid officers, employed by government to exercise surveillance over the people and compel uniform obedience to the government's decrees, became familiar to the English-speaking race.[2]

[1] "We are accused by the French of having no word in our language, which answers to their word *police*, which therefore we have been obliged to adopt, not having, as they say, the thing." (Lord Chesterfield, 1756, *World*, No. 189.)

[2] During the period of English freedom founded upon litigious criminal procedure, nearly every eminent writer or publicist had something to say in denunciation of spies. A collection of these passages is unnecessary but a single extract from Burke may be given:

"A mercenary informer knows no distinction. Under such a system, the obnoxious people are slaves, not only to the government, but they live at the mercy of every individual; they are at once the slaves of the whole community, and of every part of it; and the worst and most unmerciful men are those on whose goodness they most depend.

"In this situation, men not only shrink from the frowns of a stern magistrate; but they are obliged to fly from their very species. The seeds of destruction are sown in civil intercourse, in social habitudes. The blood of wholesome kindred is infected. Their tables and beds are surrounded with snares. All the means given by Providence to make life safe and comfortable, are perverted into instruments of terror and torment. This species of universal subserviency, that makes the very servant who waits behind your chair the arbiter of your life and fortune, has such a tendency to degrade and abase mankind, and to deprive them of that assured and liberal state of mind, which alone can make us what we ought to be, that I vow to God I would sooner bring myself to put a man to immediate death for opinions I disliked, and so to get rid of the

The principle that public officers who fail to stamp out disobedience to law, are themselves guilty of crime, is the inevitable corollary of inquisitorial criminal procedure. They are empowered to employ spies and initiate prosecutions, and they are expected to be diligent in the use of these powers. Plutarch notices this principle in the spy government of Sparta; Gibbon notices it twice; in the prosecution of Christians under Diocletian and of pagans under Theodosius. To English common law it was not only wholly unknown, but was, in principle, repudiated. Since the common law presumed that defendants were innocent and should be acquitted—*i.e.*, that the prosecutor should lose, not win his case. As late as 1880, the Asiatic idea of a magistrate's duties was satirized by Gilbert in a comic opera for the amusement of English audiences. The Mikado "is struck by the fact that in the village of Titipu there has been no execution for a year," and sends word to Ko-Ko, the village executioner, that unless he beheads a criminal within a month the post of Lord High Executioner shall be abolished, and the city reduced to the rank of a village.

221. For a generation after the establishment of paid police, they were commonly regarded simply as warders of the public streets and places, and guardians of the public peace; not at all as public prosecutors intended to enforce obedience to law. Stephen's *History of the Criminal Law of England*, published in 1867, emphasized the litigious character of English and American criminal procedure, even after the creation of a paid police.

"Passing from the courts of justice to the procedure, I may observe, in the first place, that, as it now stands, it is from first to last distinguished by one characteristic feature. It has come by the steps already described to be preëmi-

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man and his opinions at once, than to fret him with a feverish being, tainted with the jail-distemper of a contagious servitude, to keep him above ground an animated mass of putrefaction, corrupted himself, and corrupting all about him." (Edmund Burke, *Speech at Bristol*, 1780.)

nently litigious and hardly at all inquisitorial." (Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, Chap. XV.)

"Every private person has exactly the same right to institute any criminal prosecution as the Attorney-General or any one else. A private person may not only prosecute any one for high treason, or a seditious conspiracy, but A may prosecute B for a libel on C, for an assault upon D, or a fraud upon E, although A may have no sort of interest in the matter, and C, D, and E may be altogether averse to the prosecution." (*Ibid.*, Chap. XIV.)

"When a prisoner has been arrested and is brought before a magistrate, the magistrate's duties are now entirely judicial. He hears the evidence as a rule, to which there are hardly any exceptions, in open court. He is provided with no means of making inquiries, though he can issue summonses for the attendance of witnesses if he is informed by others as to their knowledge, but it is no one's legal, official duty to inquire into the matter. As a fact the duty is undertaken by the police, who in cases of any importance, are usually authorized by the superior police authorities to instruct a solicitor, who, in some cases, instructs counsel to appear before the magistrates to prosecute. If, as is often the case, there is a private prosecutor, he can, and does, manage the whole matter, as he might manage any other action at law. He employs a solicitor who may or may not instruct counsel, and who takes the proofs of witnesses, brings them before the committing magistrate and the grand jury, instructs counsel at the trial, and in a word, manages the whole of the proceedings just as he would in a civil cause." (*Ibid.*, Chap. XIV.)

The biography of almost any eminent English judge of the nineteenth century will furnish corroborative evidence of the same familiar fact. The *Memoirs of Lord Brampton* (Sir Henry Hawkins) give innumerable instances where he appeared at the assizes some times as counsel for the prosecution, sometimes for the defense. It is only since 1880 that there has occurred in England and America a noticeable transformation from the litigious criminal procedure of the ancient common law of the Anglo-Saxons, to the Asiatic standards which enforce, by paid government spies and prosecutors, uniform obedience to government decrees.

To understand fully the litigious principles of criminal jurisprudence under the English common law is important, not alone because it was the foundation of criminal jurisprudence in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and all the British settlements throughout the world; but because it preserved and brought down to the last half of the nineteenth century, alive and growing, the common law of all the Teutonic peoples north of the ancient boundaries of the Roman empire. All German tribes began with a litigious criminal procedure, and preserved it on the continent of Europe until the introduction of Roman law. In England and America, Roman law has not been substituted for common law; and the change from litigious to inquisitorial criminal procedure, from mortal prosecutors seeking redress, to governmental prosecutions by a demortal body of paid official spies demanding obedience, is taking place in accordance with the mathematical law which governs civilizations that have reached their zenith, and are about to stagnate and decline.

222. After the Renaissance, Roman law and criminal jurisprudence came again to the knowledge of western Europe, and, in those continental countries which had formerly been provinces of the Roman empire, progressed slowly toward adoption. The Roman law thus revived, was not Roman law as it was known under the Republic, or under Augustus, or Hadrian, or under any of the Antonines. It was not the law of a rising civilization; it was the Roman law as codified by Justinian after Roman imperial administration had been modeled on Asiatic lines, and had experienced two centuries of absolute despotism, servility, oppression, stagnation, and decay. It was the law of a declining civilization, a servile people, and a waning empire. In place of the healthy litigious principles of criminal procedure of Roman freemen, and of Rome's western conquerors, it introduced the theory of inquisitorial criminal procedure, the final seal of imperial despotism.

Inquisitorial criminal procedure made little progress in the

law courts of secular princes. For the trial of ordinary crimes, they had their own established practice of litigious criminal procedure. Secular government was feeble, criminal jurisdiction was infinitely divided among petty princes and seigniories, and secular rulers were devoted to greed and amusements. To extend their domains by war, marriage, or succession; to display their prowess in tournaments, and amuse themselves with sport; and to find the money for all this by taxation, occupied all their time. There is, before the Reformation, little evidence anywhere of a body of paid spies, attached to any court of Europe, and designed to compel uniform obedience by his subjects to the princely will.

To the Roman Catholic heirarchy, inquisitorial procedure was familiar. Inquisitors of the Faith were an ancient tradition; and inquisition served the Church, exercised its zeal, magnified the priestly office, and, often, even increased the priestly revenues. The motives of the inquisitors consecrated their methods, and they defended any cruelty used for saving souls by the plausible allegation that the torments of lost souls were greater. The Holy Office was established in Rome in the thirteenth century, and its procedure was inquisitorial from the start. From Italy, it was extended to France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Primarily, it existed for the discovery and suppression of heresy; secondarily, its effect was to familiarize Christians with inquisitorial procedure; and to secure the warm approval of that procedure by all the orthodox who disapproved heresy.

223. Following the inquisition into heresy, the Church undertook to reform society by inquiring into morals. Francis I and the Pope had concluded the Concordat against concubinage (1516). Man's proneness to sin had made saleable the Church's power to grant indulgence or absolution. The care of souls and the love of money combined to stimulate the Roman Catholic priesthood in the prosecution of all those offences against good morals which the litigious

criminal procedure of the secular courts would usually have left unpunished. This was the origin of ecclesiastical courts and discipline for spiritual offenders. Their procedure was inquisitorial, and they were continuously aided by spies.

"In the middle ages, a lofty effort had been made to overpass the common limitations of government, to introduce punishment for sins as well as crimes, and to visit with temporal penalties the breach of the moral law. The administration of such a discipline fell, as a matter of course, to the clergy. Such was the origin of the church courts, perhaps the greatest institutions ever yet devised by man. The misdemeanors of which the courts took cognizance were 'offences against chastity,' 'heresy,' or 'matter sounding thereunto,' 'witchcraft,' 'drunkenness,' 'scandal,' 'defamation,' 'impatient words,' 'broken promises,' 'untruth,' 'absence from Church,' 'speaking evil of saints,' 'non-payment of offerings,' and other delinquencies incapable of legal definition."[1] (Froude, *History of England*, Chap. III.)

[1] A much longer list is given in *The Nineteenth Century*, October, 1919, No. 512, in an article entitled "Oliver Cromwell's Wild Oats."

"We find offenders presented, or 'detected' for (*inter alia*) seeking help from a wizard to know whether cattle were bewitched; for drunken frolic; for robbing the poor of their due (the 'church-stock' of sheep); for non-attendance at church and refusing dues to priest and clerk; for 'marrying under a bush'; for laying a load of broom in the church, 'very noysum and unsemelye'; for being a common drunkard and a 'reylour and chyder to the greife of the Godlie and greate danger of his soule'; for marrying while excommunicate; for setting up habitation in the church porch, when the offender's wife gave birth to a child, and 'continued there her whole month'; for incest and monstrosity; for breaking into the parish chest; 'for coming to be churched without kercher, midwife or wyves, and placed herself in her owne stoole, not in the stoole appointed, by the which she shewed herself derisiouse in coming so like a light and common woman'; for deriding holy matrimony by carrying a bough of weeds and nettles before the bride, to the great offence of the congregation; for not coming to his parson to be examined in the principles of religion, 'wherein he was found ignorant'; for holding an unreverend opinion of the Eucharist, 'to wit, that there is noe difference betweene the receyvinge of bread and wine there, than eating and drinking in a common alehouse'; for dancing the morrice in sermon time; for fighting and brawling; a churchwarden for presenting a parishioner causelessly; for popish recusancy; for gross slander; for sedition and

"Among the many abominable practices which had been introduced by the ecclesiastical courts, not the least hateful was the system of espionage with which they had saturated English society; encouraging servants to be spies on their masters, children on their parents, neighbors on their neighbors, inviting anyone who heard language spoken anywhere of doubtful allegiance to the Church, to report the words to the nearest official, as an occasion of instant process." (*Ibid.*, Chap. V.)

Geographically, the Church's inquisition into moral offences, or sins, was far more extensive than its inquisition

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contentiousness; for being accessory to a daughter's unchastity; for breach of promise of marriage; for claiming to be churched at home; a woman for 'usinge most cursed oathes, as namely *God's wounds, God's hart';* for clandestine burial and robbery; for ploughing up the church path; church wardens for that 'they have not anie gatheringe for the poore at the tyme of the administracioun of the Sacrament'; a maid-servant for coming into the church in man's apparel—'Dominus injunxit ei penitentiam in her usuall aparell with a paper on her brest'; a man for sitting covered in Divine service; for setting up a maypole in service time; for practising as physician and blood-letter without authority; for not receiving the Sacrament at Easter; for refusing to kneel in service time; for refusing to be veiled at churching; for removing landmarks; a parish clerk for that (among other offences) 'he singeth the psalmes with such a jesticulus tone and altitonant voyce, *videlicet* squeakinge like a pigge, which is altogether disagreeing unto any musicall harmonie'; for Brownism; for railing at the parson; for fox-hunting on Sunday; for adultery and attending conventicles; a woman for railing at the curate, and calling him 'sawcie prowde Jack and base rascallie slave and shackrell'; a man for persuading the neighbors that his wife had bewitched them; a woman for 'rayling at our vicar, saying she would never receave a cupp of salvacion at the hand of so damned a priest, and comparing him to a dogg'; for sitting at the Belief, refusing to do reverence to the blessed name of Jesus, using derisive gestures during service, and 'contemning the celebracion of holie Church and festivall dayes'; a father for suffering his boy to give saucy and impudent answers when catechised; for coming drunk to the Holy Communion; a father for standing sponsor to his own child, contrary to the 29th Canon; a churchwarden for embezzling the collection; for suffering a child's body to lie too long unburied; for encroachment upon pews; for ribaldry and gambling; for advising a brother not to marry a girl whom he had wronged; a woman for wickedly wishing she were a witch for a time 'that she might

into heresy. Wherever the latter existed, the former was to be found side by side with it; and in lands, like England, where an inquisition under the Holy Office was never, in strictness, set up, there was the inquisition into sin. Chronologically, it survived long after the torture and burning of heretics had ceased. It was active down to the nineteenth century in Spain[1] and in the Spanish possessions in the new

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be revenged of her adversarie'; another 'for hanginge her lynnen in the church to dry, and when our minister told her of it she said she might hange her raggs there as well as the surplysse, and bad him doe his worst' —she was suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiæ;* for not turning to the East at the Doxólogies, Creed and Gospel; a schoolmaster for negligence; for 'casting things at the maides in sermon tyme and sticking feathers on a maides wastcoate'; a parish clerk (*aquæ-bajulus*) for not attending the minister in visiting the sick and ministering the Sacrament; for secretly baptising and concealment of birth. There are also the usual presentations for defamation and incontinence."

A good idea of the number of these prosecutions may be gained from the same article:

"In two years, 20,000 persons were convicted for cursing and for profaning the Lord's Day, and 3,000 persons in London and Westminster alone for lewd and disorderly life. During the first year of the Long Parliament, 2,000 persons were presented in the Archidiaconal Court of London for moral offences, and the Archdeacon, Lord Morley remarks, was as busy as the Bow Street Magistrate." (*Ibid.*, p. 689.)

[1] An ingenuous Spaniard told Casanova the office performed by the Holy Inquisition in the eighteenth century. "It wants to know whether you eat meat on fast days, whether persons of opposite sexes sleep together, if so, whether they are married, and if not married it will cause both parties to be imprisoned; in fine, Senor Don Jaimo, the Holy Inquisition is continually watching over our souls in this country." (*Memoirs of Casanova*, Vol. XI, Chap. III.) This inquisition into men's bed and board, characteristic of Asiatic religions and of priest-ridden peoples generally, was in the eighteenth century still common to all the old Catholic land of Europe where Church and State had been untouched by the Reformation. Casanova found it in the Republic of Venice, the papal states of Rome, the kingdom of Spain, and under the empire of Austria. Under all forms of government its methods, machinery and results were much the same. It is interesting to observe in the memoirs of this debauchee the exact correspondence between inquisition and debauchery. Wherever the inquisition was supported by the strongest power, was longest established, unquestioned and un-

world.[1] It continued in France, somewhat diminished by the prevailing irreligion, until the French revolution. It was active in Austria under the pious and orthodox Maria Theresa, who sought by priestly spies to purify the morals of the Viennese. It was active and continuous in Italy,[2] particularly in the see of Rome and the papal states.

In the reformed communion, Protestant priests took over

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interrupted, and most effective, there the depravity of morals was the greatest. In Holland and England, where priestly surveillance over morals, and inquisitorial procedure for the punishment of sin, had been long abolished, morals were greatly improved. These results may always be expected with mathematical certainty. Under priestly or secular espionage and inquisition men are not restrained by conscience but by the fear of spies and inquisitors whose vigilance they hope to escape. When espionage and inquisition are abolished and only spiritual restraints remain, men cannot hope to escape the vigilance of God, and their sin will surely find them out.

[1] An example of priestly surveillance of morals and of inquisitorial criminal procedure on American soil will be found set forth in the case of *Gaines vs. Relf et al*, 12 Howard, 472. On public report and without any verified accusation, criminal proceedings were instituted against Geronino Desgrange for bigamy. "Thomas Hassett, canonical presbyter of this holy cathedral church, provisor, vicar-general, and governor of the bishopric of this province," laid the information, arrested, imprisoned, and examined the defendant, and examined other witnesses, while the defendant was kept in jail. This priest finally discharged the accused by the following: "Decree: Not being able to prove the public report, which is contained in the original decree of these proceedings, and having no more proofs for the present, let all proceedings be suspended, with power to prosecute them hereafter, if necessary, and let the person of Geronino Desgrange be set at liberty, he paying the costs." This was in the City of New Orleans in 1802.

[2] Macaulay gives a singular instance of the minute and successful zeal of priestly spies in Italy after the Reformation.

"Works which were once in every house were so effectually suppressed that no copy of them is now to be found in the most extensive libraries. One book in particular, entitled *Of the Benefits of the Death of Christ*, had this fate. It was written in Tuscany, was many times reprinted, and was eagerly read in every part of Italy. But the inquisitors detected in it the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone. They proscribed it; and it is now as hopelessly lost as the second decade of Livy." (Macaulay's Essays, Von Ranke, *History of the Popes*.)

the inquisitorial procedure from the orthodox. Calvin exercised it in Geneva.[1] Lutherans in Germany and in the Netherlands; the Presbyterians in Scotland; the Huguenots in the protestant cities of France; the Anglicans in England[2] and the Puritans in New England. The purification of morals by priestly espionage was a universal habit of the times. In all these countries, it is hard to fix the date when espionage ceased. In most of them, it gradually wore itself out, and disappeared during the eighteenth century. The chief factors extinguishing it on the continent were the wars, conquests, and code of Napoleon. In England, it came to an end upon the Restoration of Charles II.

224. The reëstablishment of litigious criminal procedure in England, as it had existed at the common law, may be dated from 1660. For two centuries before the Restoration, some sort of priestly espionage over English morals had been almost continuous.[3] For a century before the break

[1] The laws and procedure for priestly rule in Geneva by Calvin and in England by Cranmer were very much alike.

[2] "Under his (Laud's) direction every corner of the realm was subjected to a constant and minute inspection. Every little congregation of separatists was tracked out and broken up. Even the devotions of private families could not escape the vigilance of his spies. Such fear did his rigour inspire that the deadly hatred of the Church, which festered in innumerable bosoms, was generally disguised under an outward show of conformity. On the very eve of troubles, fatal to himself and to his order, the Bishops of several extensive dioceses were able to report to him that not a single dissenter was to be found within their jurisdiction." (1639). Macaulay. *History of England*, Chap. I.

[3] Franklin's Autobiography gives us a faithful likeness of spy government as it existed in England for about two centuries; directed first by Catholics against Protestants and afterwards by the Anglican Communion against Dissenters.

"This obscure family of ours was early in the Reformation, and continued Protestants through the reign of Queen Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of trouble on account of their zeal against popery. They had got an English Bible, and to conceal and secure it, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint stool. When my great-great-grandfather read it to his family, he turned up the joint-stool upon his knees, turning over the leaves then under the tapes. One

with Rome, it had been exercised by the papist priests. For a century afterward, it was exercised by Protestants, Anglicans, the High Commission and the Court of Star Chamber.[1] This last gained a notoriety which has passed

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of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the appariter coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before. This anecdote I had from my uncle Benjamin." (Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography*.)

There were, however, sanctuaries of freedom which existed, not through intelligent or voluntary creation, but by the fortuitous survival of ancient manors. Manchester was one of these. Defoe visited it in 1705–1706, and wrote:

"It is neither a town, city, nor corporation, nor sends members to Parliament, but it is a manor with courts, leet, and baron. The highest magistrate is a constable or head borough reeve."

Its political disabilities and lack of corporate powers exercised by magistrates and spies, made it very attractive to non-Conformists and its future wealth and prosperity were in no small degree due to the fact that its earliest inhabitants were little molested by government and enjoyed to the full the benefits of *laissez faire*. Here was born the Manchester School of Political Economy; and it could claim ancient and honorable ancestry and legitimate birth.

All America was a sanctuary of freedom from its first English settlement. Whatever the rigors of substantive law, spy government was almost unknown even in the most Puritanical Commonwealths; and was easily escaped with no greater hardship than pushing the frontier a little farther into the wilderness; an advance which must be made anyway. From the first English colonists to the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was always an American frontier where the first settlers could altogether escape governmental regulation, and government spies. The same was true of Canada. And it is only since 1880 that all opportunity for Dissent and non-Conformity has been cut off from the English speaking peoples of the New World, and that statutory prohibitions and regulations, enforced by a government spy system, greatly extended and perfected in 1920, have been able to impose upon all the English speaking inhabitants of North America a complete and ruinous uniformity.

[1] "The inquisition," said Lord Erskine, "began and ended with the Star Chamber. The venerable law of England never knew it. Her noble, dignified and humane policy soars above the little irregularities of our lives, and disdains to enter our closets without a warrant founded upon complaint. Constructed by man to regulate human infirmities,

into a by-word among English speaking people, who still Speak with detestation of "Star Chamber" proceedings.

"Foremost among these courts in power and in infamy were the Star Chamber and the High Commission, the former a political, the latter a religious inquisition. Neither was a part of the old constitution of England. The Star Chamber had been remodelled, and the High Commission created by the Tudors. The power which these boards had possessed before the accession of Charles had been extensive and formidable, but had been small indeed when compared with that which they now usurped. Guided chiefly by the violent spirit of the primate, and freed from the control of Parliament, they displayed a rapacity, a violence, a malignant energy, which had been unknown to any former age. The government was able, through their instrumentality, to fine, imprison, pillory, and mutilate without restraint. A separate council which sat at York, under the presidency of Wentworth, was armed, in defiance of law, by a pure act of prerogative, with almost boundless power over the northern counties. All these tribunals insulted and defied the authority of Westminster Hall." (Macaulay, *Ibid.*)

At the Restoration the court of Star Chamber was already ended; the puritanical discipline over private morals ceased with the fall of puritan government; in a single generation the ecclesiastical *ex officio* oath, which compelled a suspected person to incriminate himself, and the writ *De Haeretico comburendo*, which handed him over to the secular power to be burnt, were abolished, and there was secured the Protestant succession, the Act of Toleration, and the Writ of Habeas Corpus. From this generation England was freed from spies. For two centuries, no inquisition, clerical or legal, having power to inflict punishment, was exercised over the private lives, morals, thoughts, opinions,

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not by God to guard the purity of angels, it leaves us our thoughts, our opinions and our conversations, and punishes only overt acts of contempt and disobedience to her authority. It does not dog men into taverns and coffee-houses, nor lurk after them at corners, nor watch them in their domestic enjoyments. It lays no snares for thoughtless life, and takes no man by surprise."

conduct or diet of any Englishman. For the third time in about three thousand years, a civilization was permitted to grow up under the perfect and ideal freedom of a litigious criminal procedure. It had occurred once in Palestine, under the rule of Judges; once in Rome under the Republic; and now again in England. In this last case, it was carried further, and to a higher point of civilization, than in either of the other two.

225. In the English criminal procedure of this age, all the incidents of litigious criminal procedure are abundantly evident. Substantive law defines only what is actionable; there is no prosecution except for injury; no attempt on the part of government to set spies merely to punish disobedience; hence substantive law is not the decree of an absolute government, which its subjects must obey, but is merely a remedy afforded alike to all who choose to invoke it.[1] Observe how this principle established religious freedom in England when heretics were still burned in Spain. The Act of Toleration was passed only for the relief of dissenting non-Catholic sects; Catholics were still obnoxious to the statutes and penalties which had been designed to enforce religious conformity to the state Church. In the period of inquisitorial procedure at the beginning of the *seventeenth* century, these laws were continuously invoked by a multitude of state and ecclesiastical prosecutions against dissenting Protestants. Substantive law remained the same;

[1] English novelists depicting this period commonly represent disobedience to law with the greatest nonchalance and without a thought of paid spies or public prosecutors. In *Lorna Doone*, John Ridd pays John Fry six shillings a week, although the wages fixed by the justices are four-and-sixpence for summer and a shilling less for winter. It is a crime known to all the country side.

In the *Mayor of Casterbridge*, a man sells his wife at a fair, and a woman sells rum without a license. Neither is prosecuted. The sale of a wife was never lawful and never conveyed any rights or title in law. It sometimes occurred among the dissolute, simply because no property rights were affected, no injured person prosecuted, the woman was well rid of the vendor and lived with the purchaser only if she chose to ratify the transaction. See Brand's *Popular Antiquitie,* Besant's *London.*

but in the accusatory procedure of the *eighteenth* century, Catholics enjoyed undisturbed religious freedom.

"Judging by the mere letter of the law we should imagine that their worship was absolutely suppressed, that their children were deprived of all ecclesiastical education, and that their estates must have speedily passed into other hands. It is equally certain that during the greater part of the reigns of Anne, George I and George II, the Catholic worship in private houses and chapels was undisturbed, that the estates of Catholics were regularly transmitted from father to son, and that they had no serious difficulty in educating their children." ... "The reward of £100 offered for the conviction of a Catholic priest might be expected to produce numerous informers; but the judges were very severe in the evidence they required, and it was decided that those who prosecuted in order to obtain the reward must do so at their own expense." (Lecky, *History of England in the 18th Century*, Vol. I, pp. 304, 306.) This was decided July 22, 1714.

There were no official spies, no public prosecutors; and the mercenary informer, detested as the meanest of mankind, was forced to prosecute at his own expense, and before a hostile judge and jury. Englishmen spoke with complacency even with pride, of a substantive law that was not the decree of absolutism but might be disobeyed by any one who did not injure another. It was recognized as the perfection of civil liberty.

"This is the most perfect state of civil liberty, of which we can form any idea; here we see a greater number of laws than in any other country while the people at the same time obey only such as are immediately conducive to the interests of society; several are unnoticed, many unknown; some kept to be revived and enforced upon proper occasions, others left to grow obsolete, even without the necessity of abrogation.

"There is scarcely an Englishman who does not every day of his life offend with impunity against some express law, and for which in a certain conjuncture of circumstances he would receive punishment. Gaming-houses, preaching at

prohibited places, assembled crowds, nocturnal amusements, public shows, and an hundred other instances are forbid and frequented. These prohibitions are useful; though it be prudent in their magistrates, and happy for their people, they are not enforced, and none but the venal or mercenary attempt to enforce them.

"The law in this case, like an indulgent parent still keeps the rod, though the child is seldom corrected." (Goldsmith, *Citizen of the World, Letter L.* "An attempt to define what is meant by English Liberty.")

Down to the middle of the nineteenth century it was the same.

"Neither are the magistracy or the police allowed to enter improper or disorderly houses, unless to suppress disturbances that would require their presence in the most respectable mansion in the land, if the aforesaid disturbances were committed within their precincts. If the neighbours choose to complain before a magistrate of a disorderly house, and are willing to undertake the labour, annoyance, and expense of a criminal indictment, it is probable that their exertions may in time have the desired effect; but there is no summary conviction, as in some continental cities whose condition we have studied in another portion of this work." (Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor.* (1862); Tit: *Prostitution in London.*)

In 1858, Dr. Sanger, writing the *History of Prostitution*, received, by direction of the Police Commissioners, a report of the number of houses of prostitution in each precinct of New York City. Among English speaking people at that time, no one had a notion that the duties or powers of the police extended to the surveillance of morals or the castigation of sin.

It is usual to describe the English criminal laws of this period as cruel and inhuman. There were perhaps four thousand enactments of penal offences; and one hundred and sixty-five of these were punishable with death. But the machinery of accusation, trial and punishment of offenders, was hardly ever set in motion by the government itself, and

was never employed to secure a uniform and servile obedience to statutes. There was scope for forgiveness, which inquisitorial criminal procedure denies. An injured person might forgive or prosecute. If he prosecuted, the state presumed the defendant's innocence, refused his testimony, and compelled the prosecutor to prove his case without questioning the accused. It did not initiate the prosecution, or take sides with the prosecutor, or convict the defendant. It treated a criminal case as a private litigation which an impartial jury of private citizens was summoned to try, and by their verdict all parties were bound. So that the relation of crown and subject in England, during this period, was removed as far as possible from Asiatic standards. The crown did not seek to compel obedience or punish disobedience to its statutes. It simply provided a method whereby any subject might prosecute any other subject in any case which was actionable, their dispute to be tried by their neighbors, and the verdict of a jury of fellow subjects to be the sole foundation for punishment by the crown. The harshness of penal laws cannot obscure or deny the freedom enjoyed by subjects under a litigious criminal procedure.

226. Where litigious criminal procedure is accepted as the governing principle in the administration of criminal law, it follows as a usual and necessary corollary that the government inquires into and prosecutes murder. The crime of homicide disables its victim from prosecuting; and if prosecutions were instituted only by the injured, every assault would be carried as far as death; since, if it stopped short of death there might be a prosecution, whereas death would remove the prosecutor. In early Rome, accordingly, and in England, the state inquired into and prosecuted murder upon its own initiative. In the rise of Roman civilization, the office of *quæstors paricidii*, or "trackers of murder," was soon created. In England, the coroner exercised the same function. In both these examples of litigious criminal procedure, the exception which declared that murder alone should be inquired of and prosecuted by the state, accom-

plished wonders for the safety and security of human life. It warned every assailant that his assault must *not* end in murder, since if he only gave his victim a beating, the state would not interpose on its own initiative, and he might compound with the injured man by a payment of money; whereas, if the assault went as far as death, then no composition would be permitted, and all the power of public authority would be exerted to discover the criminal and to punish the crime.

Where criminal law generally is enforced upon the accusatory principle, and a singular exception is made for the offence of murder, it becomes the most dreaded and hated of all crimes. Generation after generation it stands before the public mind as the unforgiveable wrong. For all other offences a litigious procedure allows the defendant to deal with an individual prosecutor, mortal like himself, capable of forgiveness, amenable to friendship, influence, compromise, pecuniary settlement. In murder alone, the defendant finds himself confronted with the whole power of the state, a demortal being inquiring into the crime, tracking the criminal, initiating the prosecution, refusing money or composition, demanding life for life, sternly punishing blood guiltiness. All the terror and majesty of the state concentrated on this one offence, is directed toward the defendant by the death of his victim. The inquisitorial system makes an enemy more dreaded alive than dead. Under litigious procedure a murdered body is the most terrible of all accusers.

The psychological effect is tremendous. Popular feeling differentiates murder from all lesser crimes. It was so in republican Rome, where human life was notably safer than in any contemporaneous state where inquisitorial criminal procedure was employed to punish all offences. It was equally so in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The complacency with which Goldsmith viewed unpunished violations of a multitude of penal statutes did not extend to murder. In all English literature during this period, murder occupies a position by itself. Hood's poem

Eugene Aram is a fair example. School boys shivered as they declaimed the lines:

> "And Eugene Aram walked between
> With gyves upon his wrists."

Where inquisitorial criminal procedure is general, and is employed by the state to enforce universal obedience to its own decrees, this feeling toward murder is not to be found. It died out among the Romans after the change from litigious to inquisitorial criminal procedure. The change was fully accomplished before Justinian; and, in Constantinople, all the powers of a highly organized state police, diffused over a multitude of offences, could not make human life as safe as it had been in unpoliced Rome.

"Constantinople adopted the follies, though not the virtues, of ancient Rome; and the same factions which had agitated the circus raged with redoubled fury in the hippodrome. Under the reign of Anastasius, this popular frenzy was inflamed by religious zeal; and the greens, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred at a solemn festival three thousand of their blue adversaries. From the capital this pestilence was diffused into the provinces and cities of the East, and the sportive distinction of two colours produced two strong and irreconcilable factions, which shook the foundations of a feeble government." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XL.)

The psychology of inquisition has been correctly and pungently put by Lecky:

"Few people do more mischief in the world than those who are perpetually inventing crimes. In circles where smoking, or field sports, or going to the play, or reading novels, or indulging in any boisterous games or in the most harmless Sunday amusements are treated as if they were grave moral offences, young men constantly grow up who end by looking on grave moral offences as not worse than these things. They lose all sense of proportion or perspec-

tive in morals, and those who are always straining at gnats are often peculiarly apt to swallow camels." (Lecky, *Map of Life*, Chap. XII.)[1]

The notable increase in the crime of murder, wherever inquisitorial criminal procedure is adopted, is a striking example of this psychological truth. Wherever the state undertakes to inquire into and to prosecute all offences and to punish all disobedience to criminal law, the result is that people look upon murder as no more certain of prosecution than offences against the liquor law, the Sunday law, or any religious or statutory prohibition. The horror inspired by its solitary pinnacle of guilt is lost, and, in a few generations, murder is committed with the same frequency and *sang froid* as statutory crimes.

[1] Where state or Church decrees and enforces taboo of common things the sense of moral proportion is destroyed in the manner described by Lecky. Smollett observed its effect in his *Travels through France and Italy*.

"On a meagre-day, however, these ragamuffins will rather die of hunger than suffer the least morsel of fleshmeat to enter their mouths. . . . I have, indeed, remarked all over this country, that a man who transgressed the institutions of the Church in these small matters is much more infamous than one who has committed the most flagrant crimes against nature and morality. A murderer, adulterer, or s—m—te, will obtain easy absolution from the Church, and even find favor with society; but a man who eats a pigeon on a Saturday, without express license, is avoided and abhorred as a monster of reprobation." (Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, Letter XXV.)

Ford found the same thing in nineteenth century Spain:

"More horror is felt by rigid Spaniards, at seeing an Englishman eating meat during a fast, than if he had broken all the ten commandments." (*Gatherings from Spain*, Chap. XVIII.)

A Papal Bull of the thirteenth century conceded to St. Ferdinand the permission that his army might eat meat rations during Lent provided there were any; and from that time to the nineteenth century pious Spaniards annually purchased copies of this Bull printed at the Dominican convent at Seville as a license to eat flesh or fowl on fast days. It cost sixpence, was good only for twelve months, and the Spanish treasury derived a considerable annual revenue not only from Spain but from America by the printing and sale of these paper notes.

The stigma of peculiar wickedness which litigious criminal procedure fastens upon murder, extends in lesser degree to all violence, trespass, and aggression; not because these lesser offences are inquired of and prosecuted by the state upon its own initiative, but because they are continuously certain of prosecution, generation after generation, and century after century, by private persons seeking redress. Substantive law seldom differentiates between offences committed by force and those committed by temptation; but litigious procedure automatically makes such classification, and punishes the former with a perpetual certainty unknown to the latter. In times of fierce emotional excitement, departure from the prevailing religion or morals will be hunted

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Wherever an Englishman traveled in the eighteenth century, from the Tagus to the Indus, he found himself among a people observing some from of religious taboo enforced by priests, or government, or both. It was common to all the Mediterranean countries of the Roman communion, to Islam and to Buddhism. It was only in England and other countries of the reformed Church, and in the English and Dutch settlements of North America, that men were free to eat and drink without inquisition or license or the danger of prosecution. The position of the Churches has now been reversed. The freedom of the table has become general in Catholic lands, and is extending among Moslems and Buddhists. It is the Protestant Churches of the apostate states of America and Canada that threaten men's domestic habits with the same surveillance and punishment once peculiar to the Asiatic and unreformed religions. The moral consequences of this reversal are certain and are already apparent.

The prohibition law is enforced in America with frequent homicides, and, when the man-slayer is a government spy, the power of the government and prohibition forces is often exercised to secure his acquittal. The most active sect for prohibition is the apostate Methodist Church, which maintains at Washington a permanent Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals. Under the caption "The Only Good Boot-legger is a Dead Boot-legger," this board sent to the public press on October, 1921, a written plea for killing men engaged in illegal liquor traffic instead of taking them alive. Always and everywhere this is the attitude of prohibitionists toward those who disregard their prohibitions. It is the spirit of the mediæval Church toward heretics and, down to the eighteenth century, of orthodox Churchmen toward those who ate flesh on a fast day.

out by the most fanatical of the populace, and brought to punishment through the courts. When the excitement subsides such prosecutions end. Year in and year out, without spiritual tumult, those injured by violence, aggression, or trespass, invoke the law for their redress, and for punishment of offenders. Force arouses first the individual resistance of the person against whom it is directed, next the whole power of the state is invoked by him to punish the aggressor. Temptation arouses the spiritual resistance of the tempted, and for those who hate wickedness, spiritual resistance is usually sufficient. So that if there is no inquisition by Church or state, the prosecution of crimes of temptation is rare. Those who yield are content with sin; those who resist have a spiritual strength that disdains the carnal forces of the state.

227. It would be expected then, that in groups where litigious criminal procedure is practiced for generations there would be a noticeable augmentation of spiritual stature, and an improvement of group morals; and that, where the contrary, or inquisitorial criminal procedure, is practiced for generations, spiritual stature and morals would both decline. History furnishes abundant evidence of this mathematical truth.

The general evidence that litigious criminal procedure is the practice of rising civilizations, and inquisitorial procedure of declining civilizations, has already been recited. There should be added, however, some other evidence of moral improvement under the one, decline under the other.

In Cæsar's account of the Gauls and Germans it is apparent that the former were a priest-ridden race, the latter were not. (*De Bello Gallico*, Bk. VI, XI to XXVIII.) Among the Gauls a numerous and powerful priesthood exercised continuous surveillance over all the people; they enforced uniform obedience to the state religion, judged all controversies, public and private, and punished all crimes. Since priestly government is intended to enforce obedience to priestly dogmas, a system of espionage may always be

imputed to it, because uniform obedience cannot be enforced without spies. It is therefore inferable that a system of spy government existed among the Gauls.

The Germans had no such priesthood and were not priest-ridden. "They have neither Druids to preside over sacred offices, nor do they pay great regard to sacrifices." The criminal procedure of the German tribes, as far back as it can be traced, was litigious or accusatory, not at all inquisitorial. The Germans were so little accustomed to obedience that "when a public meeting is announced, they never assemble at the stated time. Regularity would look like obedience; to mark their independent spirit, they do not convene at once, but two or three days are lost in delay." (Tacitus.) They dwelt not in cities but each family in a detached house; and it was "the greatest glory to the several states to have as wide deserts as possible around them, their frontiers having been laid waste."

Gauls and Germans, then, exhibited two white races of Northern and Western Europe with precisely opposite customs. Gauls lived in walled cities, under the close espionage of priests, and an inquisitorial procedure, enforcing uniform obedience to state and Church; the Germans lived separate and apart, without espionage or priestly inquisition, and scorning obedience. Both Cæsar and Tacitus had opportunities to observe them when these differences had continued for some generations. Tacitus' tribute to the morals of the Germans has already been quoted (Vol. I, par. 94). Rome subdued the most remote province of the Gauls, and brought it under Roman rule; but never succeeded in conquering the Germans. Yet Cæsar testifies that the Gauls had once excelled the Germans in valor. After several generations of Gallic inquisition and German freedom, the Germans excelled the Gauls.

"And there was formerly a time when the Gauls excelled the Germans in prowess, and waged war on them offensively, and, on account of the great number of their people and the insufficiency of their land, sent colonies over the Rhine.

Accordingly, the Volcæ Tectosages seized on those parts of Germany which are the most fruitful (and lie) around the Hercynian forest (which I perceive, was known by report to Eratosthenes and some other Greeks, and which they call Orcynia) and settled there. Which nation to this time retains its position in those settlements, and has a very high character for justice and military merit: now also they continue in the same scarcity, indigence, hardihood, as the Germans, and use the same food and dress; but their proximity to the Province and knowledge of commodities from countries beyond the sea supplies to the Gauls many things tending to luxury as well as civilization. Accustomed by degrees to be overmatched and worsted in many engagements, they do not even compare themselves to the Germans in prowess. (*De Bello Gallico*, Bk. VI, Chap. XXIV.)

228. The comparison of Germany and Gaul at the beginning of the Christian era, may be usefully supplemented by a comparison of Germany and England in the twentieth century of that era. In race, climate, religion, habits, domestic and marriage customs, both countries are much alike. They differ widely in criminal procedure. In England, litigious criminal procedure has been established for upwards of two centuries, its liberal tradition is not yet wholly forgotten, and the practice of it has not quite ceased. Adult English men and women in 1901 had been born under it as their ancestors had. Germany, on the other hand, for more than a century, has been highly policed, and a system of spy government, with an inquisitorial criminal procedure, has sought to enforce equal obedience to all the laws. The criminal statistics of the two countries are quoted from Appendix II of a book entitled the *Soul of Germany*, written by Thomas F. A. Smith, Ph.D., late English lecturer in the University of Erlangen.

"The following figures give the yearly averages for the British Isles (population 45,000,000) and Germany (population 66,000,000), over a period of twelve years, 1901–1912 inclusive.

German sources consulted were the *Vierteljahrshefte*, published by the Imperial Statistic Office, Berlin, principally Vols. 247 (issued in 1912) and 267 (issued in 1914). They

may be seen in the British Museum Reading Room, press mark E.S. vii b., and are the only sources which give complete, reliable statistics of crime in Germany.

Where statistics are not accessible, the space has been left blank.

Nature of Crime	British Isles *Yearly average*	Germany *Yearly average*
Murder	80 together	91
Baby murder		142
Manslaughter	216 together	193
Killing without intent[1]		680
Procuring abortion[2]	23	765
Malicious and felonious wounding	1,213	25,386
Malicious damage to property	358	19,689
Arson	278	610
Perjury	98	554
Blackmail		716
Incest	53	489
Unnatural crimes[3]	122	648
Rapes, defilement of imbeciles and girls under 14[4]	789	5,310
White slavery and procuration[5]	27	3,900
Dissemination of indecent literature		2,760
Petitions for divorce	965	20,340
Illegitimacy	48,702	178,115

[1] *E.g.*, a man kills another in a free fight. Before the court he maintains that he "had no intention to kill." The great majority of German manslaughter cases and "killings without intent" would be classed as murder and punished by death under English law. In Germany the criminal is usually sentenced to imprisonment, from six months to four years.

[2] The frequency of this crime is appalling, the number of convictions rose from 457 in 1901, to 1,318 in 1912. During the twelve years under consideration only two persons were convicted of this crime in Ireland.

[3] The German figures for 1912 in Vol. 267, p. 292 are: Indecency with males, 611 charges, 536 convictions. Indecency with animals, 390 charges, 319 convictions.

[4] Including 408 cases of indecent assault. Further, the British statistics include offences against girls under 16; offences against girls above 14 do not appear to be included in the German figures, but they include over 2,000 crimes on girls under 14.

The German report classifies these crimes "*Unzucht mit Gewalt*" (immorality with violence), which would seem to mean that the whole of the total 5,310 refers to violations. The British average for the latter crime is 146.

[5] Under this head, 487 husbands and parents were charged, and 379 convicted, for procuring their own wives or children, in 1912.

British statistics were compiled from the publications of the Home Office; Judicial statistics for Ireland, Dublin, and Judicial Statistics of Scotland. Edinburgh.

229. Some striking examples of the opposite effects of litigious and inquisitorial criminal procedure are afforded in the history of the Christian faith. In the Roman province of North Africa, the Christian Church, under the litigious procedure of the Pagan empire, became a powerful and populous institution. In the time of St. Cyprian in the third century, it could assemble in a conference as many as six hundred bishops. In the fourth century, Christianity became the sole religion of the state, and inquisitorial criminal procedure was adopted to stamp out paganism, heresy, schism, and sin. This was the period when Valentinian and Theodosius were purifying the morals of their subjects by a multitude of criminal prosecutions. In the fifth century, Salvianus, a Christian priest from Marseilles, visited North Africa, and recorded his impressions in a book, *De Gubernatione Dei.*

"'Africa,' according to Salvian, was 'the home and household of all the vices'; 'the seething caldron of iniquity'; 'the bloody city, the pot whose scum is therein,' described by the prophet. 'They have all the vices,' he exclaims, 'that the Romans have; but their avarice, their drunkenness, and their perjury, are immeasurable. Every vice of all the world is found among them, unredeemed by the national virtues which palliate the crimes of other men. The Goths are perfidious but chaste; the Alani unchaste, but less remarkable for perfidy; the Franks are liars, but hospitable; the Saxons are men of brutal cruelty, but marvellous continence. All nations, in short, have their peculiar defects. In the whole African race, or nearly the whole of it, every evil that I know of may be found. It is an Ætna blazing with the fires of impurity and lust. Impure and African are synonymous in signification, and inseparable in fact.' He then goes on to describe the wealth, splendour, and public institutions of the great city; its universal and frightful debauchery, where every class was drunk with wine and lust; the miserable condition

of the poor, ground down with such relentless oppression that they called upon God, in their misery, for the coming of the barbarian, and did not call in vain; above all, the pervading prostitution, which he depicts in language too plain and emphatic to be repeated here." (Sheppard, *The Fall of Rome*, Lecture VII.)

This was rather less than a century after the Christian emperors had begun the suppression of prostitution by employing inquisitorial criminal procedure for the extermination of brothels.

In the city of Rome, in the thirteenth century, the Holy Office was established by the Church. At the end of the fourteenth century, the temporal and spiritual authority of the Pope was established over the city of Rome and the papal states. From 1469 (Paul II), the Popes exercised absolute power and, even in criminal cases, could trample on the common law. The Church's surveillance over the morals of her flock was complete. Whatever inquisitorial procedure, priestly spies, and ecclesiastical courts, could do to purify mankind, was theirs, and religious and secular law combined to strengthen the hands of "God's anointed."

In 1511, Martin Luther who like Salvianus, was a Christian priest from another land, visited Rome; and he described what he saw there in language so nearly like that of Salvianus describing North Africa that one may be almost exchanged for the other.

"'I would not,' said Luther afterwards, 'for a hundred thousand florins have gone without seeing Rome; I should always have doubted whether I was not doing injustice to the Pope. The crimes of Rome are incredible; no one will credit so great a perversity who has not the witness of his eyes, ears, personal knowledge. . . . There reigned all the villainies and infamies, all the atrocious crimes, in particular blind greed, contempt of God, perjuries, sodomy. . . . We Germans swill liquor enough to split us, whilst the Italians are sober. But they are the most impious of men; they make a mock of true religion, they scorn the rest of us Christians, because we believe everything in Scripture.

. . . There is a saying in Italy which they make use of when they go to Church; "Come and let us conform to the popular error." "If we were obliged," they say again, "to believe in every word of God, we should be the most wretched of men, and we should never be able to have a moment's cheerfulness; we must put a good face on it, and not believe everything." This is what Leo X. did, who, hearing a discussion as to the immortality or mortality of the soul, took the latter side. "For," said he, "it would be terrible to believe in a future state. Conscience is an evil beast, who arms man against himself." . . . The Italians are either epicureans or superstitious. The people fear St. Anthony and St. Sebastian more than Christ, because of the plagues they send. This is why, when they want to prevent the Italians from committing a nuisance anywhere they paint up St. Anthony with his fiery lance. Thus do they live in extreme superstition, ignorant of God's word, not believing the resurrection of the flesh, nor life everlasting, and fearing only temporal evils. Their blasphemy also is frightful . . . and the cruelty of their revenge is atrocious. When they cannot get rid of their enemies in any other way, they lay ambush for them in the churches, so that one man cleft his enemy's head before the altar. . . . There are often murders at funerals on account of inheritance. . . . They celebrate the Carnival with extreme impropriety and folly for several weeks, and they have made a custom of various sins and extravagances at it, for they are men without conscience, who live in open sin, and make light of the marriage tie. . . . We Germans and other simple nations, are like a bare clout; but the Italians are painted and speckled with all sorts of false opinions, and disposed still to embrace many worse. . . . Their fasts are more splendid than our most sumptuous feasts. They dress extravagantly; where we spend a florin on our clothes, they put down ten florins to have a silk coat. . . . When they (the Italians) are chaste, it is sodomy with them. There is no society amongst them. No one trusts another; they do not come together freely, like us Germans; they do not allow strangers to speak publicly with their wives: compared with the Germans they are altogether men of the cloister.' These hard words are weak compared with the facts. Treasons, assassinations, tortures, open debauchery, the practice of poisoning, the worst and most shameless outrages, are unblushingly and publicly tolerated in the

open light of heaven. In 1490, the Pope's vicar having forbidden clerics and laics to keep concubines, the Pope revoked the decree, 'saying that that was not forbidden, because the life of priests and ecclesiastics was such that hardly one was to be found who did not keep a concubine, or at least who had not a courtesan.' Cæsar Borgia at the capture of Capua 'chose forty of the most beautiful women, whom he kept for himself; and a pretty large number of captives were sold at a low price at Rome.' Under Alexander VI, 'all ecclesiastics, from the greatest to the least, have concubines in the place of wives, and that publicly. 'If God hinder it not,' adds the historian, 'this corruption will pass to the monks and religious orders, although, to confess the truth, almost all the monasteries of the town have become bawd-houses, without anyone to speak against it.' With respect to Alexander VI., who loved his daughter Lucretia, the reader may find in Burchard the description of the marvellous orgies in which he joined with Lucretia and Cæsar, and the enumeration of the prizes which he distributed. Let the reader also read for himself the story of the beastiality of Pietro Luigi Farnese, the Pope's son, how the young and upright Bishop of Fano died from his outrage, and how the Pope, speaking of this crime as 'a youthful levity,' gave him in this secret bull 'the fullest absolution from all the penalties which he might have incurred by human incontinence, in whatever shape or with whatever cause.' As to civil security. Bentivoglio caused all the Marescotti to be put to death; Hippolyto d'Este had his brother's eyes put out in his presence; Cæsar Borgia killed his brother; murder is consonant with their public manners, and excites no wonder. A fisherman was asked why he had not informed the Governor of the town that he had seen a body thrown into the water; he replied that 'he had seen about a hundred bodies thrown into the water during his lifetime in the same place, and that no one had ever troubled himself about it.' 'In our town,' says an old historian, 'much murder and pillage was done by day and night, and hardly a day passed but some one was killed.'" (Taine, *History of English Literature*, Bk. II, Chap. V.)

230. Such are two interesting examples of the effect upon Christian states of priestly spies and inquisitorial procedure, which impose upon the people uniform obedience

to Church and state. In striking contrast to these, there may be cited two examples of the growth of spiritual stature and religious exaltation under litigious criminal procedure where spies were unknown; where the Church was limited to spiritual weapons, and where the powers of temporal majesty were employed to redress injury rather than to punish disobedience.

The first example is the spread of the Christian religion throughout the Roman empire. Its Founder was born in Asia, and was first manifested to the Asiatics; and was worshipped as the Son of God by three wise men from the East. Between the place of his birth and the ancient civilizations of Persia and India there was perpetual intercourse of commerce and travel. Asiatic civilization included at that time a highly organized police, a system of spy government, and an inquisitorial criminal procedure to impose upon all subjects a uniform obedience to the state decrees. From Bethlehem, Christianity never spread eastward into Asia. The spiritual deadness and inertia of Asiatics under ages of spy government could not be quickened by the seed of Christ. Spiritual life had there nothing to feed upon. The conduct and opinions of men were fixed by law; and the universal servility bred of an Asiatic criminal procedure secured uniform obedience to all that was old, uniform resistance to that which was new. Seven centuries later carnal weapons subdued the East, and substituted a new religion for the old without effecting any real spiritual change.

In the other direction from Bethlehem, lay the Roman empire, where religious and secular freedom were secured by litigious criminal procedure. The imperial government then employed no system of paid spies, nor a state police or body of official prosecutors, intended to fix the conduct and opinions of men on a uniform plan, sanctioned by the court, by respectable public opinion, or by a majority of the people. Diversity was the acknowledged right of Roman subjects. Criminal prosecutions were initiated by private prosecutors,

seeking to redress an injury, rather than by public prosecutors seeking to punish disobedience. The automatic classification between crimes of force, which injure another, and crimes of temptation, which injure those who yield, was exhibited to perfection. Vice and sin were unmolested by the Roman courts.

Into this extensive human group, and under these circumstances, the spirit of Jesus Christ began its march. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal," said St. Paul, "but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." (II Corinthinians X, 4). For three centuries, Christian disciples fought with spiritual weapons, and achieved spiritual conquests. Everywhere they were invincible. Everywhere they pulled down the mightiest strongholds. Stoned, scourged, persecuted, and put to death, the lives of Christians were yet safer than the lives of pagans. For each Christian who was destroyed by persecution, a thousand of the unconverted perished from vice and sin; and a thousand Christians were saved from destruction by their ability, through Christ, to resist temptation. The new religion was invulnerable. Individual converts might die, like St. Sebastian, pierced with arrows. The Christian group still lived. No carnal weapon could pierce its spiritual armor. The pagan group, whose armor was not spiritual, fell by tens of thousands under the weapons of carnal temptation and sin. In three centuries the power of the spirit, wherever it is not deadened by spies, was fully manifest. The Christians which could make no headway against the spy governments of Asia, had penetrated to the remotest provinces of imperial Rome, had increased until they numbered a majority of its inhabitants, and had seized for themselves the government of the empire. All this had been accomplished by spiritual weapons. Most of it was soon to be lost by carnal ones.

231. Christianity which gained the Roman empire by spiritual weapons attempted to hold it by carnal ones. Under Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius, all public

rule and authority was in the hands of the Christians. An Asiatic administration, inquisitorial criminal procedure, and a multitude of official and priestly spies were employed to extirpate paganism, heresy, schism and sin. An absolute government exercised every carnal weapon that man could devise to enforce fidelity to the triumphant Church; but carnal weapons in Christian hands were no match for carnal weapons in pagan hands; and the result was nearly parallel to King Josiah's campaign of espionage a thousand years earlier in Judea. Every Western province of the empire was overwhelmed by barbarians, every capital, including Rome itself, taken and sacked, and the Western Church was compelled again to resort to spiritual weapons for the reconquest of its conquerors. It was again successful. With spy government obliterated by the barbarian flood, carnal weapons torn from their hands and turned against them, Christians fought again with spiritual weapons, mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. Wherever spy government was destroyed, the spirit of Christ resumed its victorious march.

Its wonderful vitality under litigious criminal procedure was, by a long succession of spiritual revivals, manifested through many centuries. The first great growth of spiritual life from Christian seed occurred in the three centuries following the Crucifixion, and in the jurisdiction of the Roman empire, where spy government was then unknown. Within the same empire from the time that Asiatic ideals of absolute obedience were enforced by Asiatic criminal procedure, spiritual life withered and became as dead. Christian worship was devoted to visible things, pictures, images, relics, shrines. Only once in the Eastern empire in a thousand years was there an attempt to revive the spiritual worship of invisible things. The struggle with the Iconoclasts continued for more than a century from A.D. 726 to 842. This was not, in the Western sense, a true revival. The assault upon image worship was begun by Leo III (the Iconoclast), an

Isaurian born in Armenia; it was continued by Nicephorus I of a family who claimed descent from Arabian kings; followed by Leo V (the Armenian), and concluded under the dynasty of Michael II (the Stammerer), who was born in Amorium of the lowest ranks of society. It is significant that spiritual ferment did not come, as in western revivals, from below, nor from the Greeks or Romans. The idols were dethroned and the images broken by rulers, each of whom was sprung from a foreign race, and imposed his alien will on rebellious subjects. On February 19th, 842, thirty days after the death of Theophilus the last ruler of the Iconoclasts, the banished pictures were restored to the Church of St. Sophia, and the worship of images resumed. In the spy government of Constantinople, like the spy government of Asia, spiritual vitality was always low. In centuries of warfare with Persian and Moslem, the Eastern Church made no spiritual conquests on her Asiatic borders. The only Eastern accession to Christendom was Russia, where spy government did not then exist.

232. In Western Europe, the seed of Christ was everywhere planted anew. The ancient Christian population of the Roman provinces was exterminated by the succession of pagan invasions. Beyond the northern boundaries of the empire there existed a vast region still to be converted. In the tenth century, Western Europe was peopled with new races which had never known spy government, and which, in the fourth century, had not been Christian. Here there began a series of spiritual revivals, which, from the eleventh century to the nineteenth, marked a continuous rebirth of the Christian spirit.

The first of these was the crusades, which began in the eleventh century and continued to the thirteenth,—a true revival which started from below with the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and which enlisted multitudes of the peasants and common people under the banner of the Cross. The three centuries covered by the crusades and culminating in the thirteenth century, aptly described as the

"Age of Faith," cover the period when, in all Western Christendom, there was no spy government by Church or state. In the fourteenth century, the crusades were followed by the spiritual revivals under John Huss in Bohemia and John Wyclif in England. In the sixteenth century, came the Reformation; a revival which extended to every Christian state of Western Europe where it was not put down by the Inquisition. The new spirit was not less active among the Catholics than among Protestants.

"Two reformations were pushed on at once with equal energy and effect, a reformation of doctrine in the North, a reformation of manners and discipline in the South. In the course of a single generation, the whole spirit of the Church of Rome underwent a change. From the halls of the Vatican to the most secluded hermitage of the Apennines, the great revival was everywhere felt and seen." (Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, Von Ranke.)

Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the zeal of both parties displayed an equal spiritual exaltation, and, in continental Europe, almost an equal intolerance. After the Thirty Years' War their boundaries became fixed; secular government in each country was centralized and strengthened; states established a lawful Church and proscribed all others; inquisitorial procedure was adopted in secular as well as ecclesiastical courts; and a system of official and priestly spies and public prosecutors enforced conformity to the state religion, punished spiritual diversity and prevented the rise of dissenting sects. From that time on, the Continental revivals were dead. Whoever dissented from the state religion could with comparative safety take refuge in irreligion; or he could emigrate. Spiritual ferment with the resulting new sects was effectually suppressed.

233. In England and in the English settlements in the New World for two more centuries revivals continued and new sects arose. There was no spy government to suppress spiritual diversity. New spiritual groups suffered some

hardship at first. Some emigrated from England to New England, persecuted in both; but religious persecution, conducted on the litigious principles of the English common law, is short-lived and futile. Theological hate and religious fervor spend themselves in hard words, rioting, indignation meetings, public odium, pamphlets, and a few prosecutions. A poor sectary, half killed in the stocks or pillory is a considerable achievement. Such persecutions but faintly test the zeal of new religious groups. It is the systematic inquisition at public expense with paid spies and official prosecutors that prevents their rise or stamps them out.

In England and America, spiritual ferment was shown, not only in a multitude of new sects, but in a long series of great revivals. In England during the first half of the eighteenth century, John and Charles Wesley awoke all the poor of the nation, and founded a great Church, which, through Whitefield's preaching extended to America.[1]

From 1740 to 1760, a revival, started by Jonathan Edwards

[1] It is interesting to compare Franklin's account of this revival with the account of another great spiritual uplifting fourteen centuries earlier in the city of Alexandria upon the return of Athanasius. Here are the descriptions of each revival.

Alexandrian Revival—Fourth Century

"In a wild enthusiasm of devotion, women became nuns, men became hermits; children entreated their parents, parents urged their children, to sacrifice themselves to the monastic life. In a still nobler sense of a Christian revival, the hungry and the orphans were sheltered and maintained, and every household by its devotion seemed to be transformed into a Church." (Stanley, *The Eastern Church*, Lecture VII.)

Philadelphian Revival—Eighteenth Century

"In 1739, arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they

and still called "The Great Awakening," roused all New England. At the close of the eighteenth century, the Evangelical movement began in both England and America. In and out of the established Church of England there was a great exaltation of spirit. Hundreds of thousands felt the call of conscience, and turned from worldliness to prayer, thankfulness, religious devotion, spiritual consolation, praise, faith, and good works. In biographies of the Victorian age, it is astonishing to find how often the biographer's subject was born in a family of Sabbatarians where worldliness was unknown. During the nineteenth century, spiritual exaltation continued. In England, it was marked by the Oxford movement, which brought the more ascetic of the Evangelicals into the Roman communion. In America, there was another "Great Awakening" in 1858; a revival that stirred the whole public mind from New York to remote lumber camps in Michigan and in Maine.[1]

In the eighteen-seventies Moody and Sankey in America and England conducted a famous revival which converted many. It was not until spy government was firmly established that spiritual revivals among the English speaking peoples ceased.

234. Thus, the historical parallel with the first three centuries of the Christian era, has been maintained. The religion of Jesus spread from Bethlehem westward through

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admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them they were naturally *'half beasts and half devils'!* It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk thro' the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street." (Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography.*)

The reader will notice that in the earlier revival men, women and children devoted themselves to the religious sterilization of their own Christian virtues; and will reflect upon the fate of Egyptian Christianity. The later revival made converts of equal zeal and piety but fruitful instead of sterile.

[1] An account of this revival will be found in Rhodes' *History of the United States*, Chap. XII.

the Roman empire where there was no spy government, it could not spread eastward, into the spy government of Asia. After the establishment of spy government under the Christian emperors, there was no spiritual revival in the ancient Christian population of the Eastern empire. In the West, where spy government had been obliterated, there was a continuous succession of great revivals from the eleventh to the seventeenth century. After the Thirty Years' War, when centralized government, religious establishments, and an inquisitorial criminal procedure, became fixed on the Continent of Europe, revivals ceased. In England, although there was a state religion and an established Church, there was no system of spy government and no inquisitorial criminal procedure. Revivals continued in England in unbroken succession for two centuries after they had ceased on the Continent. In many of the American colonies there was a close resemblance to a state religion, and an established Church; but there was no system of spy government and no inquisitorial criminal procedure. Revivals continued in the English settlements in America. In the French and Spanish settlements, under an established Church and an inquisitorial procedure, there was no revival.

The Christian revivalists for three centuries after the Reformation, wielded the same spiritual weapons that St. Paul found "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." Like the first Christians, they were a minority, not only without temporal power, but often persecuted by the state. In England, from the time of Wyclif, every spiritual revival was carried on by a minority —lollards, miscreants, heretics, protestants, puritans, quakers, dissenters, separatists, non-conformists. These are nick-names that denote not only a minority, but usually a hated and despised minority. Spiritual weapons were forced upon them; carnal, they had none. But the fact that Fox, or Whitefield, or Wesley, like Paul and Timothy could not invoke the power of legislatures and courts, the

terror of police and jails to save men from sin, was not their weakness but their strength. It armed them as it armed the early Christians. The Moslem carried his religion into Asia with fire and sword. But the Christian missionary converted Europe with deadlier weapons. Wherever the religion of Jesus Christ was preached to men who had nothing else to save them from sin, it swept all before it. It threatened sinners with a worse punishment, promised to converts a purer felicity, than the religion of Mohammed. "*The drunkard's death, the harlot's death, the eternal misery and slavery of sin, if you do not follow Christ. Salvation is yours if you do.*"

The Christian ministry is strongest when it is weakest and most despised. Temporal power aids Christ's ministers most when they cannot wield it. During the two centuries that it proscribed and persecuted them in Rome, they converted the empire. During the two centuries that the Anglican priesthood was rated with grooms and butlers, and dissenting clergymen lower still, England was evangelized while the continent surrendered to irreligion.[1]

Both in Rome and in England there was no inquisition. Litigious criminal procedure left vice to the punishment of God; salvation could be sought only by prayer and not by statute, Jesus was the only redeemer, and nothing could restrain the love and praise and longing for Him. Crowds flocked to hear His name. Old churches were filled and new ones were built. It is a singular testimony to the spiritual character of the Christian religion that its greatest successes have been won only under the conditions that make spiritual weapons most terrible.

235. Since civilization is the result of the augmentation of the spirit of mankind, every spiritual revival is of conse-

[1] Macaulay gives a lively picture of the English clergy in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries. *History of England*, Ch. III. In the drama of those days the clergyman usually married a cook. Roger and Abigail in Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, Bull and the Nurse in Vanbrugh's *Relapse*, Smith and Susan in Shadwell's *Lancashire Witches*, are instances.

quence. Men are apt to see in a continuous succession of revivals evidence of their failure; since they argue that all that could be accomplished by many ought to have been accomplished by one. But the service rendered to civilization by spiritual revivals, is best measured by observing those groups where they do not take place. And invariably in those groups civilization decays. The spirit that is not revived becomes as dead. It has been so in Asia for all the ages which have seen no great revivals. It was so in Constantinople, which never experienced the revivals of western Europe. The spiritual quickening led by Mohammed raised a brilliant civilization, and regenerated for a brief period Christian provinces which had fallen into spiritual torpor. The centuries of decline in Islam mark centuries when no spiritual revival has taken place. The rise of English-speaking people from Wyclif to Victoria, is marked by a continuous succession of spiritual revivals extending through five centuries.

It is from no fanciful cause that spy government and spiritual deadness, litigious criminal procedure and spiritual revival, go hand in hand. Asiatic criminal procedure, whose ideal is obedience to government, treats all offences as disobedience and prosecutes all with equal vigor. It makes no distinction between disobedience and turpitude. Under a criminal procedure of this character, servile obedience is an important factor in the existence or survival of any group of subjects. Let them but obey, and they are unmolested by government spies, prosecutors, and courts. Let them disobey, and all the powers that they are taxed to maintain are directed against them. Servility is necessary to life.

But servility and obedience are peculiarly characteristic of low nervous organizations. Those groups whose domestic customs, by imposing maternity upon cold women, have augmented the nervous organization of their posterity, are least able to render servile obedience to government. They are capable of self government. They can command them-

selves, their own appetites and their own passions. But they are incapable of yielding their consciences, their opinions, or their conduct, into the keeping of others. Hence, when augmented nervous organizations appear in any group or any country, disobedience appears with them. In religious affairs there will be schism, heresy, dissent, non-conformity. They will have new religious conceptions, break with old dogmas, found new religions and new sects, and, again dissenting from the new sects, form others. Diversity is the law of their being, and they cannot be reduced to a single mould.

Such being the nature of augmented nervous organizations, they cannot live under spy government or inquisitorial criminal procedure. They may be few—a hopeless minority in number—but they must be free. Under litigious criminal procedure, where punishment is a redress for injury, and not an attempt to enforce uniform obedience to government, they thrive. Under inquisitorial criminal procedure, they are cut off, and must emigrate or die.

236. With lower nervous organizations the exact contrary is the case. Whenever an adverse selection of mothers, by sterilizing cold women reduces the nervous organization of posterity to the level of Asiatics, servile obedience becomes natural, and inquisitorial criminal procedure is adopted to enforce it. To low nervous organizations self-restraint or self-government is irksome or impossible. They want to have their tasks imposed upon them, to be commanded by others, to render obedience to earthly and visible powers. For ages, this has been the nature of Asiatics and Asiatic law and criminal procedure are perfectly adapted to it. But it can take place as well in western Europe and in the proudest races. The Normans, when they conquered England, were a free and commanding race. They became deeply religious, founded monasteries and convents and accepted the doctrine of religious sterilization of cold and pious women. Here

is Besant's description of the Norman inmates of one of their monasteries in Plantagenet London—after three centuries of adverse selection of mothers had reduced the nervous organization of posterity.

"They wanted a rule of life which should give them no chance of committing sin; like women, they desired to be ruled in everything, even the most trivial. At dinner, for instance, they were enjoined to drink with both hands and to incline the head when served; in church they were not to clinch their hands or to stretch out their legs; the whole day was mapped out for them as it is for boys at school. From primes (the daybreak service) till tierce, spiritual exercises; from tierce till sext, and from nones till vespers, manual labours; once every day private prayer at the altar; silence in the cell; to ask for what was wanted after nones; no conversation in the chapter, the cloisters or the church; from November till Easter conversation on the customs of the Order; afterward on the Gospels—and so on. The effect on the common nature would be to produce a breathing machine, incapable of thought, of actions, of judgment, with no affections, emotions, or passions. The holy brotherhood becomes a troop of slaves engaged upon a round of trivial duties, kept at a low stage of vitality by scanty food and short sleep. They cease after awhile to desire any change; they go in meekness and submission to the end, their piety measured by their regularity." (Besant, *London*, Chap. III.)

The change observed in these Normans from independence and self-reliance to servility and obedience, may be seen in all history and invariably follows an adverse selection of mothers which sterilizes cold women. In Asia, it took place many ages ago. In Israel, the same change may be observed between the period of Gideon and the period of Solomon. In Athens, between the age of Pericles and the reign of Demetrius. In Rome, it took place between the Second Punic War and the reign of Tiberius. In the pagan empire of Rome, between the reign of Hadrian and of Diocletian. In the Christian empire, the decline to Asiatic servility followed the religious sterilization of cold

and pious women, and continued throughout the Eastern empire until the fall of Constantinople. Wherever the causes of such change affect the entire national group, inquisitorial procedure and spy government invariably follow. It is interesting to see, in the history of Rome, spy government postponed for two centuries by the transfer of imperial power from the degenerated Romans and Italians, to the still vigorous Colonists and provincials. Spy government was set up under Caligula and Nero. But when the throne passed to Trajan and his successors from the provinces, freedom was restored. In England, there was a similar transfer of power from Normans to English. Norman religious houses excluded the despised and hated English, so that the religious sterilization of the pious impaired only the Norman and not the English stock. While the Normans were learning servility, the English were acquiring independence. And spy government was postponed for five centuries.

237. With spiritual decline, moral deterioration also may be seen invariably accompanying spy government. Corporeal espionage and spiritual rule are mutually exclusive. Mankind cannot be ruled by both together. Hence, where demortal governments establish inquisitorial procedure and paid official spies to regulate successive generations of their mortal subjects, wickedness, vice, and crime increase with mathematical certainty. The inquisition always begins with sincere professions of virtue. Sin is to be uprooted by government; it is to be detected by governmental surveillance, prosecuted by government officers, punished by visible and corporeal means. Invisible law and spiritual weapons are cast aside. Diversity is forbidden. A uniform standard of decency is adopted which all are compelled to obey.

The immediate results look fair. The testimony of spies seems more effective than the voice of conscience, and carnal punishments more severe then spiritual. Evils that had seemed to flourish, now seem to disappear. These

are but temporal and visible results. Mathematical law still governs the group, and the effect of espionage as a factor is ascertainable with mathematical certainty. The substitution of corporeal for spiritual warfare upon vice, dwarfs the spirit of each succeeding generation. Spiritual stature, and spiritual strength lose their importance as factors determining the character of posterity.

Future generations learn to be eye servants, obedient to visible restraints, fearing only corporeal punishment. They do not see with spiritual eyes, hear the spirit's voice, fear spiritual punishment, or obey spritual commands. As this change takes place, society is deformed. The Church loses her usefulness, irreligion grows, worship is limited to ceremony and formalism, worldliness grips those who fear worldly punishments and hope for worldly rewards. Distinctions between right and wrong become entirely earthly, corporeal and visible, enforced by government as part of its general undertaking to compel uniform obedience to governmental will. The populace remains good while the spy system is effective, and while the spies themselves are good. There is no spiritual stamina, and every relaxation of espionage leads to frightful excesses. A spy system once begun, therefore, must be retained and augmented. The number of spies and their inquisitorial powers must be continuously increased. But the spies themselves are recruited from the remainder of the population, and after a few generations moral deterioration has attacked the spies. As they are born to ancestors who were continuously spied upon, the habit of espionage is inherited. The spies themselves must be spied upon.[1]

[1] On his first visit to Rome in 1743, Casanova went to dine at an ordinary which was frequented by Romans and foreigners. He records: "But I was much surprised when I saw that everybody was eating meat, although it was Saturday. But a stranger during the first few days after his arrival in Rome is surrounded with many things which at first cause surprise, and to which he soon gets accustomed. There is not a Catholic city in the world in which a man is half so free on religious matters as in Rome. The inhabitants of Rome are like the men employed at the

So that when spy government is truly established and perfected for generations, it extinguishes spiritual resistance to temptation, dwarfs spiritual stature, breeds a universal servility and eye service, associates good with visible commands, and evil with carnal punishment; and finally breaks down through the inevitable corruption of the spies themselves, who are incapable of preserving their own virtue without espionage.

238. When this point is reached, and it is mathematically certain that it will be, under any system of spy government, the change in society is complete. Under the freedom of litigious criminal procedure without spies, there is a continuous automatic classification between crimes of force and of temptation. The former are systematically and continuously punished, the latter are not. The classification affects society at large, because visible and carnal punishment is certain to be inflicted only upon those guilty of crimes of force, violence, or aggression. Those who yield to temptation are seldom visited with temporal punishments inflicted by government. They suffer spiritual penalties which follow with mathematical certainty disobedience to divine laws. This automatic classification, therefore, makes the ability to resist temptation a dominant factor in the survival of a group. The possessors of this dominant factor are not ascertained by judge and jury; individuals of the group are not arrested by official police, or brought before earthly tribunals, but daily, perennially, effectively, veritably, each is subjected to trial by temptation. Some resist altogether and come out unscathed; some yield partly and are appropriately punished; some yield greatly and barely escape destruction; and some are

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Government tobacco works, who are allowed to take gratis as much tobacco as they want for their own use. One can live in Rome with the most complete freedom, except that the *ordini santissimi* are as much to be dreaded as the famous *lettres-de-cachet* before the Revolution came and destroyed them, and shewed the whole world the general character of the French nation." (*Memoirs of Casanova*, Vol. I., Chap. IX.)

destroyed. Trial, verdict, sentence, punishment go on invisibly but eternally. Justice and mercy are administered by infallible mathematical law. Each man testifies against himself, presents his own defense, acts as his own judge and jury, sentences himself, inflicts his own punishment, and has power to grant his own pardon. Up to the very end, the *locus penitentiæ* may be found. Always the sinner may turn from his wickedness and live.

Such spiritual trials exalt posterity and raise civilization. The period of litigious criminal procedure without governmental spies, prosecuting officers, or inquisition, in Rome and in England, corresponds with the period of the greatest rise of the Roman and English spirit. It is thus that civilizations grow. When prosecutions and punishments are so classified that the spiritually minded are preserved and the carnal minded are scourged, the spirit of posterity will be augmented and civilization will rise. When there is substituted for this classification a uniform carnal obedience to visible laws, the carnal minded will increase faster than the spiritually minded. They bear children with smaller heads, and are therefore more prolific. The spiritual character of posterity declines and civilization falls.

CHAPTER XVI

Visible and Invisible

239. That the augmentation of the human intellect and the worship of the invisible are closely knit together, is a mathematical certainty fully attested by historical evidence. The invisible is not revealed alike to all. But some revelation of invisible law, invisible powers, invisible gods, or an invisible God, comes to each group whose intellect mounts high enough to receive it, and departs again when the intellect declines. To know, to worship, and to obey the invisible, is a sure sign and a measure of spiritual growth. Not only does this appear from a comparison of civilizations, group against group; but, also, in the same group, the highest intellects are those who see with spiritual eyes invisible things.

Note the historical evidence:—

Israel.

The revelation of an invisible God marked the superiority of Israel to neighboring contemporary idolaters. Israel's spirituality, as a whole, rose and fell with its ability to worship an unseen God. The separation of those on the Lord's side from the idolaters who worshipped the Golden Calf, and the massacre of the latter, was followed by the spiritual improvement of the group. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Daniel,—all the best intellects of Israel, never swerved from the worship of Jehovah, their unseen God. The lower intellectuality of the common people repeatedly led them into the error of worshipping idols. After the splendors of Solomon's reign, the effects of inherited polygamy

become increasingly noticeable with each succeeding generation. Cold women escaped maternity, and the strain of sexual coldness disappeared. Israel became devoted to lust, human sacrifice, and visible gods. Individual prophets still called on an unseen God, but the body of the people worshipped idols.

The Hellenes.

The Greek mind began with a mythology of gods and goddesses who were also persons, and whose earthly exploits were celebrated. The Greek religion contained no commandment against the making of images, and the Greek repugnance to idolatry was self-taught and grew slowly. It is, nevertheless, noticeable that the Greek intellect grew, as it necessarily must, away from idolatry and not toward it. It seized eagerly upon an abstract conception, personified it, created a visible image of it, sometimes gave it a habitude. But the image was not worshipped as the thing itself, and the Greeks cannot be accused of idolatry. The higher Greek intellect rose, the more it worshipped abstractions. Pythagoras conceived of the first principle of being as transcending sense and passion, invisible and incorrupt, and only to be apprehended by abstract intelligence. Socrates was always searching for an abstraction and was ever declaring the authority of abstractions. But the best evidence of the Hellenic mastery of invisible things is the Greek language itself. It surpasses all others as a vehicle for the presentation of abstract conceptions and the expression of abstract ideas; and chiefly from Greek roots, modern tongues derive their ability to deal with invisible things. The Greeks could think in abstractions; but the habit of image making was strong and they thought it useful to make visible images of invisible things.

Rome.

The Roman mythology was certainly less populous, perhaps less popular than the Hellenic; and Rome, like Israel, enjoyed the advantage of a religious teaching against the worship of images.

"Numa forbade the Romans to represent God in the form of man or beast, nor was there any painted or graven image of a deity admitted amongst them for the space of the first hundred and seventy years, all which time their temples and chapels were kept free and pure from images; to such baser objects they deemed it impious to liken the highest, and all access to God impossible, except by the pure act of the intellect." (Plutarch's *Lives*, Numa Pompilius.)

Statues and images were afterward introduced into the Roman temples; and, as the Republic changed to an empire, effigies were made of Cæsar, the worship of which was convincing evidence of loyalty. Under the empire, the purer Romans forsook idolatry, and joined the Christian Church, which at that time had not admitted the worship of images. As to the practice of republican Rome, Mommsen testifies as follows:—

"But in Latium the embodiment of the conceptions of deity continued so wholly transparent that it afforded no opportunity for the training either of artist or poet, and the Latin religion always held a distant and even hostile attitude towards art. As the god was not and could not be aught else than the spiritualization of an earthly phenomenon, this same earthly counterpart naturally formed his place of abode (*templum*) and his image; walls and effigies made by the hands of men seemed only to obscure and to embarrass the spiritual conception. Accordingly the original Roman worship had no images of the gods or houses set apart for them; and although the god was at an early period worshipped in Latium, probably in imitation of the Greeks, by means of an image, and had a little chapel (*ædicula*) built for him, such a figurative representation was reckoned contrary to the laws of Numa and was generally regarded as an impure and foreign innovation. The Roman religion could exhibit no image of a god peculiar to it, with the exception, perhaps, of the double-headed Janus; and Varro even in his time derided the desire of the multitude for puppets and effigies." (Mommsen, *History of Rome*, Bk. I, Chap. XII.)

From the time of Numa, therefore, until the worship of images began in the Christian Church, there can be reck-

oned a millennium during some of which nearly all, and during all of which a considerable number of Romans paid their worship only to invisible things.

240. *Christendom.*

The unity of intellect and spiritual exaltation with the worship of an invisible God, finds its clearest examples in the history of the Christian Church. Here it is possible to see in different lands, among changing races, mathematical law asserting itself, so that as often as there is a favorable selection of mothers, intellect and spirituality are augmented, an invisible God is worshipped, images are abhorred; and, contrariwise, when the selection of mothers is unfavorable, the nervous organization of posterity diminishes, their enfeebled intellects are incapable of fixing their worship on an abstract conception of an invisible God, and they turn necessarily to the worship of shrines, relics, paintings, images, and visible things. The first Christians were Jews, obedient to the law of Moses which forbade the worship of any graven image; and this law has ever been incorporated and received as canonical in the Church's scriptures. Jesus never employed a graven image, and never worshipped visible things. All his life He taught and preached abstract truth. The Sermon on the Mount is filled with abstractions. The meagre report of his trial before Pilate indicates that abstract truth was the last thing spoken from His lips before He was led to the Cross. During three centuries after His Crucifixion, Christians exalted the purity of monogamous marriage, exercised a favorable selection of mothers, augmented the spiritual stature of their posterity, rose to the dominion of the Roman empire, and retained in full the spiritual worship of an invisible God. In this period, the pagan intellect was declining throughout the empire from the effects of concubinage and loose sexual unions, and, in the third century, pagan worship departed altogether from the ancient religion taught by Numa and yielded to the strange rites and bloody sacrifices of Mithra. Latinized Mithraism, with its visible

deity, painted masks and priestly antics, became the state religion of the Roman empire, and white Europeans, their spiritual stature reduced to Asiatic dimensions, eagerly embraced this Asiatic superstition. The Christians of the ante-Nicene Church turned away from all these things as idolatrous and wicked. Like Joseph and Daniel, they retained a pure and punishable worship of an invisible abstraction in the midst of an established and legalized veneration of visible things.

241. It was in the fourth century that Christians adopted and practiced the religious sterilization of cold and pious women. The effect upon posterity of the unfavorable selection of mothers which ensued, is soon noticed. At the end of the fourth century, the pure worship of an invisible abstraction became impossible to the declining spirituality of posterity. Worship required tangible objects of adoration to which it could attach itself. Accordingly, there began at this time the worship of visible things—saints, shrines and relics. The unfavorable selection of mothers and the decline of posterity's intellect continued; and, in a short time, the Church, which for three centuries had attracted to its communion all those inhabitants of the empire who abhorred idolatry, had itself turned idolatrous.

"The use, and even the worship, of images was firmly established before the end of the sixth century: they were fondly cherished by the warm imagination of the Greeks and Asiatics: the Pantheon and Vatican were adorned with the emblems of a new superstition; but this semblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude barbarians and the Arian clergy of the West. The bolder forms of sculpture, in brass or marble, which peopled the temples of antiquity, were offensive to the fancy or conscience of the Christian Greeks; and a smooth surface of colours has ever been esteemed a more decent and harmless mode of imitation." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XLIX.)

The intimate association of image worship or idolatry with the religious sterilization of cold and pious women,

may be seen both geographically and chronologically. Not only was the semblance of idolatry "more coldly entertained by the rude barbarians and the Arian clergy of the West"; but it appears to have been repugnant always to the newly converted and to those remote provinces east as well as west, which the monastic life was last to penetrate.

"As the worship of images had never been established by any general or positive law, its progress in the Eastern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the capital and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy; while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their separation; and the Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled in the twelfth century, to the sight of images." (*Ibid.*)

The evidence is, therefore, that the newly converted barbarians both of the West and of the East were repelled by the sight of images. It was in the rich, devout, and orthodox centre of ancient and unbroken Christian worship, where the religious sterilization of cold and pious women was first preached and longest practiced, that idolatry reached its apotheosis. Chronologically, it followed with mathematical certainty the unfavorable selection of mothers induced by the monastic life. General Young gives an excellent picture of its progress.

(v) "It is from the fifth century onwards that that which had hitherto been a just and worthy reverence begins to change into superstitition. In that century contemporaneously with the general decline of the empire and the loss of learning and culture, there begins an ignorant credulity which rapidly developed legends of all kinds (including legends of miraculous pictures of Christ), while

miraculous relics of various sorts begin to be vehicles for a degrading superstitition.

(vi) "In the sixth century this credulity and superstition had still further increased, as is to be seen in the letters of Gregory the Great, who himself was imbued with it as strongly as all others.

(vii) "In the seventh century, in the time of the emperor Heraclius, we find on all sides indications of the still greater dimensions to which superstition had grown, especially among the monks.

(viii) "Lastly in the eighth century there was no limit to the preposterous lengths to which superstition had attained. Images of saints were dressed in linen and made to stand sponsors for children at baptism. The hair cut off from the heads of monks when they received the tonsure was made to fall into the lap of some saint's image. The bread of the Holy Communion was placed in the hands of a saint's image to be received from thence by the communicant. And in some cases even the paint was scraped off from the image of a saint and mixed with the bread of the Holy Communion." (General G. F. Young, *East and West Through Fifteen Centuries*, Chap. XXVI.)

242. As the worship of images followed, in accordance with mathematical law, the declining intellect of posterity due to an unfavorable selection of mothers, it would be expected that when this changed to a favorable selection, the augmented intellect of posterity would reject a worship of visible things, and turn to the worship of the invisible. The evidence of history fully accords with this expectation. The rejection as well as the worship of images by Christians followed the geographical and chronological boundaries which mathematical law points out. In Constantinople, the ancient seat of unbroken orthodox Christian worship, images continued to be exhibited and venerated up to the fifteenth century, when the city fell into the hands of the Moslems. In Russia, the largest body of converts of the Eastern Church has continued ever since, with the possible interruption of the Tartar inundation, and to this day still continues, to worship the painted and graven image. The feeble intellects of the Russian peasants are incapable of

attaching religious adoration to invisible things; and icons are everywhere necessary to attract and fix their emotional faith. For two centuries the same causes drew a similar geographical boundary in Western Christendom. In the old Catholic land, where the holiness and blessings of a sterile virginity continued to exercise an unfavorable influence on the selection of mothers, the worship of images lingered long after it was repudiated and abhorred among the newly converted Christians of the North of Europe. Even before the Reformation, Luther, coming from the latter class, noticed that the superstitious Italians "fear St. Anthony and St. Sebastian more than Christ because of the plagues they send. This is why when they want to prevent the Italians from committing a nuisance anywheres, they paint up St. Anthony with his fiery lance." Visible things have always been necessary to fix the worship of those groups whose religion exercises an unfavorable selection of ardent women for motherhood, cold ones for sterility.

The same effect which inherited polygamy had upon the intellect and worship of Israel may be observed in Islam. The first Moslem warriors, who impressed maternity upon the women of conquered Christian lands without adverse selection, were immediately followed by a posterity of liberal minded, free thinking, wine drinking, learned men. They were great mathematicians. After many generations of inherited polygamy, not only were they incapable of mastering the simplest problems of arithmetic, but their intellect was so enfeebled, that, although forbidden to make graven images of God, they employed every device to fix an idolatrous worship on visible things.

"The respect which most modern Muslims pay to their Prophet is almost idolatrous. They very frequently swear by him; and many of the most learned, as well as the ignorant, often implore his intercession. Pilgrims are generally much more affected on visiting his tomb than in performing any other religious rite. There are some Muslims who will not do anything that the Prophet is not recorded to have

done; and who particularly abstain from eating anything that he did not eat, though its lawfulness be undoubted. The Imam Ahmad Ibn-Hambal would not even eat watermelons, because, although he knew that the Prophet ate them, he could not learn whether he ate them with or without the rind, or whether he broke, bit, or cut them: and he forbade a woman, who questioned him as to the propriety of the act, to spin by the light of torches passing in the street by night, which were not her own property, because the Prophet had not mentioned whether it was lawful to do so, and was not known to have ever availed himself of a light belonging to another person without that person's leave. I once, admiring some very pretty pipe-bowls, asked the maker why he did not stamp them with his name. He answered, "God forbid, My name is Ahmad" (one of the names of the Prophet): "would you have me put it in the fire?"—I have heard adduced as one of the subjects of complaint against the Basha, his causing the camels and horses of the government to be branded with his names "Mohammad Alee." "In the first place," said a friend of mine, who mentioned this fact to me, "the iron upon which are engraved these names, names which ought to be so much venerated, the names of the Prophet (God bless and save him), and his Cousin (may God be well pleased with him), is put into the fire, which is shocking: then it is applied to the neck of a camel; and causes blood, which is impure, to flow, and to pollute the sacred names both upon the iron and upon the animal's skin: and when the wound is healed, how probable is it, and almost certain and unavoidable, that the camel will, when he lies down, lay his neck upon something unclean."

"The honour which the Muslims shew to the Kur-an is very striking. They generally take care never to hold it, or suspend it, in such a manner as that it shall be below the girdle; and they deposit it upon a high and clean place; and never put another book, or anything else, on the top of it." (Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Chap. XIII.)

The Moslems, their brains enfeebled by generations of polygamy and by the substitution of coffee for alcohol as a beverage, are unable to fix their worship on the spiritual conception of an abstract God. The Prophet forbade

images, but they evade his commands by fixing their worship on visible things as far as possible. They idolize the Koran, which forbids idolatry.

Mark the striking contrast between these Moslems, descended from the long tradition and high mental attainments of an ancient civilization, and the pure worship of an invisible God by Jenghis Khan, born in a nomadic tribe of Eastern Siberia, but sprung from the enforced maternity of a long line of cold genetrices.

243. The chronological boundaries between the worship and the rejection of images in Western Christendom, are as interesting as the geographical. It has been pointed out that newly converted Christians, both west and east, were at first inclined to the worship of invisible things and rejected images. As the doctrine and practice of the religious sterilization of cold and pious women spread among them, the worship of invisible things declined, and the worship of images rose and increased. The change back to the worship of invisible things follows chronologically, as well as geographically, the improved selection of mothers. In the tenth century, Western Christendom, which had been the subject of conquest by the newly Christianized Teutonic tribes, adopted the Teutonic custom of the morning gift. In the thirteenth century, the adoration of the fruitful virgin began, and spread with great rapidity. By the fifteenth century, "holy" matrimony was firmly established as a sacrament of the Church. Each of these exercised a favorable influence over the selection of mothers; an influence which was cumulative, not only because three new factors appeared, but because each factor added some improvement to every succeeding generation. During the same five centuries, convents and religious houses came more and more to be established institutions of temporal wealth and pride. Admittance to either was a matter of money more than of conscience. So that there were sterilized some virgins whose spiritual predilections did not incline that way; while others, who might have been so

inclined, were not devoted to religious sterility because they lacked the funds necessary to enter a conventual retreat. In England, this was accentuated by the pride of Norman conquerors, who endowed great religious houses from which the despised English were for two centuries excluded.

By the fourteenth century, Christendom in the North and West of Europe exhibited, therefore, a decided turn from unfavorable to favorable influences for the selection of mothers. In England, the accumulation of these influences was at least as great, perhaps greater than on the Continent. It is strictly in accordance with mathematical law, therefore, that the English, as early as the fourteenth century, should have turned away from the worship of images toward the worship of invisible things. From the preaching of Wyclif and the rise of Lollardy it gathered strength; and, two centuries later, when the Protestant Reformation carried the hatred of images into millions of devout Christian households on the Continent, England became a natural tributary to the new belief.

244. In the sixteenth century, there had been a great augmentation of intellect in Western Christendom from the causes already described; to which must be added the growth of towns and the rise of a middle class. Wherever these influences were strongest; wherever adverse influences were weakest, or of shortest duration; wherever the middle class was most numerous; men looked upon image worship as idolatrous, rejected it as a false and impure superstition, and turned from it to the worship of invisible things. The great cleavage between Catholic and Protestant communions was over the question of visible and invisible. The Catholic Church was "reformed" and purified in respect of its manners and morals, and never again became the hissing and by-word that it was before the Reformation. But the various Protestant Churches did more than reform the morals and manners of their priests and hierarchy. They rejected images; and turned to the worship of invisible things. For two centuries, this distinction was at the

foundation of the differences between Protestants and Catholics. In the old communion, the belief in transubstantiation, the adoration and supplication of saints and graven images continued. Protestants, though they might differ from each other on every other point of doctrine, united in rejecting these.[1]

The factional strife in England itself, between the more moderate Protestants and those who went furthest in the rejection of images, furnishes an excellent example of the rise of valor and temporal power from the augmentation of the human spirit. The Puritans were those who abhorred images the most. By the extremists among them "the fine arts were all but proscribed. Half the paintings in England were idolatrous and the other half indecent." Puritans and Royalists were of the same blood, the same language, the same nation, and both had rejected the Romish faith.

"But that which chiefly distinguished the army of Cromwell from other armies was the austere morality and the fear of God which pervaded all ranks. It is acknowledged by the most zealous Royalists that, in that singular camp, no oath was heard, no drunkenness or gambling was seen and that, during the long dominion of the soldiery, the property of the peaceable citizen and the honour of women were held sacred. If outrages were committed, they were outrages of a very different kind from those of which a victorious army is generally guilty. No servant girl complained of the rough gallantry of the redcoats. Not an ounce of plate was taken from the shops of the goldsmiths.

[1] The confession of faith which converts from the Protestant Church were required to subscribe to clear themselves from the charge of heresy, contained the following paragraphs:—

"I avow that we ought to honor and invoke the blessed Saints, male and female, who are reigning with Jesus Christ and offering their prayers for us, and that we ought to venerate their holy relics.

"As also that we ought to have and to retain images of Jesus Christ and of his blessed and always Virgin Mother, and the other Saints, male and female, rendering to them the honor and reverence that is their due."

But a Pelagian sermon, or *a window on which the Virgin and Child were painted*, produced in the Puritan ranks an excitement which it required the utmost exertions of the officers to quell.

"From the time when the army was remodelled to the time when it was disbanded, it never found either in the British islands or on the Continent, an enemy who could stand its onset. In England, Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, the Puritan warriors, often surrounded by difficulties, sometimes contending against threefold odds, not only never failed to conquer, but never failed to destroy and break in pieces whatever force was opposed to them. They at length came to regard the day of battle as a day of certain triumph, and marched against the most renowned battalions of Europe with disdainful confidence.

"Turenne was startled by the shout of stern exultation with which his English allies advanced to the combat, and expressed the delight of a true soldier, when he learned that it was ever the fashion of Cromwell's pikemen to rejoice greatly when they beheld the enemy; and the banished Cavaliers felt an emotion of national pride, when they saw a brigade of their countrymen, outnumbered by foes and abandoned by allies, drive before it in headlong route the finest infantry of Spain and force a passage into a counterscarp which had just been pronounced impregnable by the ablest of the Marshals of France." (Macaulay, *History of England*, Chap. I.)

245. The Puritan warriors simply proved again the mathematical truth which has been demonstrated many times since the contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal (I Kings XVIII). Only results are visible, but the power exercised over human groups is invisible, and the strongest groups are always those who worship and obey invisible things. The long continued successes of the Roman armies during the entire millennium that Romans, pagan or Christian, worshipped invisible things is striking testimony to this. Scipio, when he brought his army into Africa, offered sacrifice to Courage and Fear. Marcellus, in the Gallic war, vowed a temple to Honor and Valor. These Roman generals understood very well that they must

look to invisible things for success against the idolatrous Carthaginians and Gauls.[1]

For twelve centuries, the armed conflict between Christian and Moslem proved the same thing. In the first hundred years, Moslems, sprung from a better selection of mothers and worshipping an invisible God, triumphed everywhere over the idolatrous Christians. They were stopped at Tours only by the irreligious Franks. When Christians and Moslems had a selection of mothers about equally bad, and were about equally idolatrous, Moslem victory ceased. As Moslems grew more and more idolatrous, and as Christians rejected images and resumed the worship of invisible things, the triumphs of Christian over Moslem began. The Holy Land was captured from the Christians by the Moslems, and recaptured from the Moslems by the Christians, quite in accordance with mathematical law. The armies of Jenghis Khan were victorious under the command of a leader who could not read or write, but who was descended from a favorable selection of genetrices, and who, on the remote steppes of Asia, had conceived for himself an abstract God. The lands they conquered were all idolatrous.

246. The conception and worship of invisible powers ruling the universe, and particularly governing the affairs of men, is the effect of that favorable selection of mothers which augments the human intellect. It is invariably

[1] The Romans took their invisible gods very seriously.

"Marcellus was detained by a succession of religious scruples, which presented themselves to his mind. One of which was, that when in the Gallic war at Clastidium he had vowed a temple to *Honour* and *Valour*, its dedication was impeded by the pontiffs, who said, that one shrine could not with propriety be dedicated to two deities; because if it should be struck with lightning or any kind of portent should happen in it, the expiation would be attended with difficulty, as it could not be ascertained to which deity sacrifice ought to be made; nor could one victim be lawfully offered to two deities, unless in particular cases. Accordingly another temple to *Virtue* was erected with all speed." (Livy, *History of Rome*, Bk. XXVII, Chap. XXV.)

observed coming first to a small minority, perhaps to only one of the group. It will be taught first by Moses, or Pythagoras, or Numa, and as long as the spirituality of the group is advancing, the worship of an invisible God will spread. When the selection of mothers changes for the worse, and spirituality declines, the worship of visible things invariably follows. The worship of an invisible God is a cause, as well as a result, and it is interesting to observe in rising civilizations its action and reaction as both cause and effect.

The worship of an abstraction frees the mind of posterity. As children succeed parents, and each child's mind comes to maturity, it finds no graven image of wood or stone whereon to fix the religious worship taught to it by its parents. On the contrary, it is taught the worship of an abstraction, and this alone enforces the intellectual exercise necessary to create within its own mind the object of its devotions. It may receive from the past instructions as to the attributes of God, his spiritual or ideal form; dogma, theology and long written tradition serve, to some extent, to canalize the flow of thought. Nevertheless, a God that is not an idol, must be re-created in the mind of each new generation. No absolute and unchangeable figure of him exists. Each generation, therefore, if it idealizes him in the figure of its ancestors, does so only because it has not attained a different mental development. Whenever superior mental diversity is attained, it becomes possible for the new generation to idealize the abstract God differently from its progenitors. No matter how many generations or how many centuries must elapse before this freedom is effectually exercised, the freedom is, nevertheless, always there. The mind is not enchained. Whenever the flood rises, it can leave its spiritual banks.

Idolatry, on the other hand, makes this impossible. An idol hallowed by tradition, sanctified by worship, authorized by law, and taught to each new generation by parents or priests, serves effectually to fix the mind of the group against any departure from the past. Centuries roll by

but the idol is still there, unchanged, unchanging, unchangeable. The diversity which time brings to the ideals of an abstract God—which time has brought to Christian ideals of the Christian God—is impossible to idolaters. The plastic minds of the young are always molded to one image. Instead of being bidden to exercise their intellects in the creation and idealization of their God, they are bidden only to use their eyes and see him on the throne where he has always sat. In this respect alone, those races which teach and preach an abstract God, have laid for their posterity the foundation of an intellectual development impossible to any race of idolaters.

Of all abstractions the same is true. Abstract ideas of justice, ethics, morals, right and wrong, have always a racial advantage over written or graven laws. The statute chains the mind of all posterity. The abstract ideal frees and exercises it. Statutes are least harmless when they are short, simple, and a codification of abstract ideals.

Statutes which go further than this may serve the evil purpose of chaining all posterity to the fixed and graven word of a past generation. They take the place of idols to make the dead hand rule the living mind. The Ten Commandments of the Jews and the Twelve Tables of the Romans are excellent models of graven laws which do not seriously hamper the intellectual growth of posterity.

247. The connection of idols with human sacrifice is both interesting and significant. There must be few, if any, exceptions to the general proposition that the belief which worships an abstract God invites each future generation to deify what it loves or fears. The superstitious fears of an earlier generation of its worshippers may have led them to human sacrifices. As generations pass, those who go voluntarily to sacrifice are continuously subtracted from posterity. Their traits tend to perish. The non-sacrificing worshippers of each generation leave more of their descendants to succeeding generations. Eventually, the perennial subtraction of those who believe in human sacri-

fice, leaves a posterity which does not believe in it at all. As their God is a changeable ideal rather than an unchangeable idol, posterity is not foreclosed from the new ideal that God does not want human sacrifice. Under the same name, and without conscious or determinate break in the old worship, it has nevertheless created a new God, fashioned by the new mind in a new image. For a God that could only be propitiated by human sacrifice, it has substituted a God that accepts the symbolic sacrifice of puppets, images, animals, food or money. This change is actually observable among the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Germans. Surrounded by idolatrous neighbors who offered human sacrifice, the Jews were forbidden to pass their seed through the fire of Moloch. In place of human sacrifice, there was devised for them the sacrifice of pigeons, goats, sheep, and oxen; as well as the "scapegoat" for the sins of the family or tribe.

When the worshippers of an abstract God have reached the point where human sacrifice is no longer offered to him voluntarily, it is discontinued altogether. From this point onward, therefore, the character of posterity is no longer affected by the perennial subtraction of the virtues of abnegation or self-sacrifice. Those virtues, as they slowly develop, are preserved and transmitted to posterity, because the ideal that human sacrifice is necessary has now disappeared. The worship of an abstract God, therefore, permits society in the course of generations to complete the round of a circle. Beginning with a high spirit of self-sacrifice which leads the most religious to offer themselves or their children on the altar, the curve descends as the spirit of abnegation is slowly subtracted from posterity, until finally willing victims are no longer found. The abstract God now imaged in the minds of posterity, is a being which does not demand human sacrifice. Sacrifice, when it ceases to be voluntary, is discontinued altogether.

Generations pass, during which the dogma is established that God does not demand human sacrifice. As the spirit

of abnegation and self-sacrifice again begins to appear, it leads no victims to immolation and is not subtracted from posterity. Now the curve is permitted to rise. The more spiritual, who in a former age would have yielded their lives to their religious convictions, now save their lives and transmit their qualities to posterity. Eventually, through the cessation of human sacrifice, abnegation and spirituality return to the worshippers of an abstract God, and the curve ascends to a point where these qualities are as profuse as in the beginning. The round of the circle is complete.

248. Where idols are worshipped, psychological selection tends to a somewhat different result in posterity. The most devout or superstitious or self-sacrificing will, at the beginning, offer their own lives or the lives of their children to propitiate the god. The effect of this is the same as the perpetual virginity of the most virtuous maidens. It tends to subtract from posterity the virtues of those who offer themselves in sacrifice. As this subtraction continues generation after generation, a time is reached where posterity is descended entirely from those who would voluntarily sacrifice neither themselves nor their children. The strain of abnegation and devotion has gradually been bred out of the race. At this point, the worshippers of an abstract God change their ideal of God. The worshippers of an idol cannot do this. There he stands or sits, demanding the same human sacrifice that has always been made to him. The worship of the idolaters is fixed for each generation by the generations of the past. As there are no more voluntary offers of self-sacrifice, human sacrifice must be provided by compulsion. Prisoners and criminals are sometimes used. Sometimes the victims are purchased, sometimes drawn by lot. The dead hand that fashioned the idol still chains the living mind, and worshippers who cannot change their god, must still offer to him the same human sacrifice that their dead ancestors had always offered.

Abundant historical evidence points to the conclusion here reached. It is probable that history first begins

to record the human sacrifice of idolaters when they have reached that point where the voluntary self-sacrifice, by the more pious or superstitious votaries, has passed. The perennial subtraction of these from posterity, has left the race still worshipping the same idol, but without the strain of self-sacrifice. History, therefore, finds human sacrifice as carried on by the Carthaginians and other worshippers of Moloch, by the Celts, the Aztecs and the Incas, at a point where human beings for immolation are obtained by command rather than by voluntary offering. This is an extremely interesting point to observe in the psychological history of an idolatrous group, because there is a good deal of evidence that it remains stationary. Where an invisible God is worshipped, it has been pointed out that, as soon as voluntary sacrifice has subtracted from posterity the strain of those who are capable of self-immolation, the ideal of the abstract God changes and human sacrifice is abandoned. Thenceforth the strain of the self-sacrificing is not subtracted from posterity, and the group's spirituality begins to rise. In an idolatrous group the ideal of the deity is fixed, and the same human sacrifices are continuously demanded. It is probable that this sacrifice, like the religious sterilization of virgins, continuously subtracts the strain of sexual coldness from posterity. This inference is justified by the fact that sexual coldness is an invariable and necessary factor of the group of highest spirituality. It is also probable that those who do not desire children would more readily yield their own lives. In the case of Jephtha's daughter, sacrificed to her father's vow, her greatest grief was her virginity. Those maidens to whom that grief was not so great but who accepted sterility as their portion in a religious life, would probably go more readily to a religious death. Corroborative evidence of this inference is to be found in the augmentation of sexual prowess among idolatrous groups. They are as much exposed as other groups to the loss of numbers through famine, disease and war, to which must be added the whole number of their human

sacrifices. Yet the impressive fact is that while the victorious Romans, who did not have human sacrifice, increased their numbers but slowly, the Celts and Puneans who had human sacrifice multiplied prodigiously. Both greatly out-numbered the Romans. Both were idolatrous, and both continued the practice of human sacrifice, ages after surrounding contemporaneous nations, worshipping invisible gods, had abandoned it.

CHAPTER XVII

INTELLECT AND EMOTION

249. It has been pointed out that the carnal rule of spies and the spiritual rule of conscience are mutually exclusive, and cannot exist together. In respect to intellect and emotion the rule is different. A group ruled by emotion excludes intellect; but a group ruled by intellect does not exclude emotion. This is true because emotion is indispensable to the birth, life and growth of mortals, and always, and necessarily, rules the great majority of mankind. Intellect is not indispensable. Mortals may be, and most of them are, born without it; and may live, reproduce their kind, and die without, or with a mere vestige of intellect. Fecundity takes its place. Intellect comes last in human progress, and then is possessed only by a minority of a minority; and this minority is not only the least prolific of the group, but becomes less prolific with each succeeding generation of intellectual rise. Intellect apprehends the mathematical laws which govern groups; sets up standards necessary for its own creation, reproduction, and preservation; and so promotes the spiritual exaltation of the group where it rules. Its standards are different from and incompatible with the standards set up by emotion; and it resists emotional domination; but it does not, and cannot exclude or expunge emotion from the group as a whole. Its new standards give to a group a much needed diversity. A group ruled by intellect ceases to be fungible. The invariable characteristic of groups ruled by emotion is simply a continuous repetition of beings of the same kind, so that the only difference between two such groups, or between two eras of the same

group, is a difference of numbers. Intellect creates differences of kind as well as of number. Where it appears, groups are esteemed according to their intellectual, rather than their numerical strength. It is for this reason that history is filled with the conquest of larger by smaller groups. In these wars, the more numerous contestant is the more prolific, and ruled by emotion; the less numerous is less prolific, and the more intellectual. History usually accords supremacy to the latter.

250. As between mortals and groups, it is plain that each of the former is affected chiefly by immediate, visible, tangible things, and by events which can be seen but cannot be foreseen; whereas groups are ruled by mathematical law, invisible, intangible, equally far and equally near, but always omnipotent, that cannot be seen, but may be foreseen. These differences between mortal and group, invite attention to the distinct spheres of mental activity which are capable of guiding them.

Emotion is aroused by what is near, visible, and tangible; only intellect apprehends far-off and unseen abstractions. Hence, mortals affected by the former find emotions indispensable, and are largely ruled by them. Groups are governed by mathematical law; and in the computation of their future many factors are invisible to carnal eyes. Only intellect can apprehend mathematical law; see the invisible factors that govern the future of the group, and therefore guide it safely to eternity. The sphere of mental activity for mortals, is chiefly emotion and volition; for groups, is pure intellect.

Two simple illustrations will make this plain. The emotions inspired by bad weather add nothing to the sum of human knowledge, and afford to mankind no means of anticipating similar weather in the future. Meteorological observations, continued for a space of years, permit a tabulation of group facts which will contain precise and reliable information, from which every detail of future climatic conditions may be expected. An unwelcome rain, or an

untimely frost, stimulates the feelings and teaches nothing. The patient observation of rainfall and temperature leaves the feelings untouched, appeals only to the intellect, and teaches everything.

Even more striking is the difference between the mortal's deathbed and a table of mortality. From his personal bereavement, the actuary may suffer the most poignant anguish, his feelings stirred as deeply as another man's. Yet, with all his actuarial training, his keenest emotions at the bed-side of the dying yield to him not one tiny grain of additional knowledge. He only knows afterward, as he did before, that individual human life is uncertain. With a table of mortality, the same actuary, studying the death rate of a group of lives, learns that the duration of human life is mathematically certain, in groups sufficiently large, and that this mathematical certainty can be successfully employed to fix with exactitude the annual premiums which will suffice to pay a known sum of money at the death of each member of the group. All his emotions at the death-bed of a loved one teach him nothing; his intellect, where the emotions are not stirred at all, teaches him everything.

251. By itself, the statement that emotions are the common and equal heritage of mankind might be criticized as inaccurate; since there may be differences of emotion between savage and civilized man or between two savage men or two civilized men. But these differences are of degree, of intensity, perhaps of number, rather than of kind. Intellect, "that assemblage of faculties which is concerned with knowledge as distinguished from emotion and volition," differs in mankind in quite a different way from emotion. Men's intellectual possessions are unequal not only in extent and degree, but in kind. There is a slight difference in civilization between the emotions of infancy and of maturity; a very great difference in intellect. There is a slight difference between the emotions of savage and civilized men; a great difference in intellect. There is a slight difference between the emotions of different races; a great difference in

intellect. There is a slight difference between the emotions of different nations; a great difference in intellect. There is a slight difference between the emotions of a nation at different eras; a great difference in intellect. There is a slight difference between the emotions of different classes of the same nation; a great difference in intellect. There is a slight difference between the emotions of individuals of the same class; a great difference of intellect. So that in a comparison of intellect and emotion a fair working formula is this:

1. Emotion is the common and equal heritage of mankind.

2. Intellect is a legacy received unequally by mankind.

The proportion of intellect in a group may be likened to the gold in a mountain. It may possibly be found in a single nugget, which, when removed, leaves nothing of value behind. The most striking example of this is Hannibal. In a lesser degree, Joseph and Moses are examples of brilliant intellectual genius, appearing in one unit of a group, without successors.

But, in the most usual example, intellect is found like gold, in a vein. The richest veins contain only a few ounces of gold to a ton of base ores; and a comparison, ton for ton, of the richest mine with the output of a barren hole would show all but a tiny quantity of the first to be as valueless as the whole of the second. The difference is that one bears gold, and the other does not, and this fact fixes the worth of each in the estimation of mankind.

It is so with human groups. Only a few intellectual men, a tiny minority of the whole, may be found in the most brilliant civilizations. Galton reckons only one genius for every ten thousand males at the height of Athenian culture. The difference, however, between a civilized and an uncivilized age, a civilized and an uncivilized group, or a rising and a declining civilization, is that, in respect to intellect, the civilized group or age is auriferous, and, although its intellectuals are but a tiny minority of the whole, it is by

these that its worth is correctly estimated. A group that bears but one genius in ten thousand males, is comparatively rich; infinitely richer than another group which bears no genius at all, although in each all the rest of the population may be alike.

The student of civilization, therefore, does not seek a comparison of the intellectual attainments of individuals within the same group; his task is to study and compare the intellectual attainments of different groups. This task is made easier by the uniform testimony of history which always manifests the existence of intellect by the same evidence, and gives the same reasons for its causes and effects.

252. Civilization's span of life has always been short. It rises in different groups, climes and ages, so far apart that the causes of its rise have always been deemed uncertain. But it falls with a regularity which has made the causes of its decline appear certain and inevitable. Mathematical law would expect such regularity, because the factors of decay must be always the same. The intellectual group is least prolific, and becomes less fertile as intellect rises, so that it is mathematically certain, not only that it can never outnumber the emotional group, but that in time it cannot even reproduce itself. It survives, therefore, only while civilization preserves the conditions necessary to the continual production of an intellectual minority from the emotional majority. This can take place only when and where a minority different from the majority is tolerated; that is, when intellectual government secures the mathematical advantages of diversity over uniformity. When intellect's advantages cease, its extinction is near. The national group becomes homogeneous and its decline is certain. The uncertainty of civilization's rise and the regularity of its fall may be alleged as evidence that intellect has never ruled it in the past. Since intellect, apprehending mathematical law, would have discovered the factors governing the rise and fall of groups, and would have taught their correct

application to mankind. It is certainly true that there never has been a civilization cognizant of the reasons for its own existence and consciously employing the means of self-preservation. This however is only evidence of degree. It shows that intellect has not attained sufficient heights, not that it did not exist at all. Every civilization testifies to some degree of intellectual rule. None has been wholly dominated by emotion. A survey of all the evidence on this point would be tedious; but it will be useful to review the common testimony afforded by all civilizations in respect to their intellectual guidance, under four heads: I. Religion; II. Humility; III. Freedom; IV. Mathematical science.

253. *Religion.*

Groups are governed by mathematical law; intellect alone apprehends mathematical law; and intellect is born only to a minority, the least prolific of mankind. Emotion is the heritage of the most prolific, the great majority of mankind. Hence it would be expected that advancing groups where civilization rises, would be guided by an intellectual minority; and that, in turn, stagnant or receding groups and declining civilizations, would be those ruled by the emotional majority. The evidence of history exactly fulfills this expectation.

All advancing groups owe to an intellectual minority—religious teacher, law-giver, philosopher—the instruction whereby they rise. Moses, Pythagoras, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, Jesus, Mohammed are examples. Their intellects were not the same, but they shared in common the gift of an intellect superior to their followers; and each of them exercised over his followers a similar intellectual selection.

However religious leaders may differ from each other in respect to intellect, certain characteristics are common to all religious leadership. It is always the leadership of a minority. It is always an intellectual leadership; the leader dominates his disciples or followers by intellectual, not emotional or numerical, superiority. After his death, it is always an invisible leadership; religions are not mortal like

their founders. It always repudiates temporal and numerical standards of conduct; in their place it sets up spiritual and eternal standards.[1]

In this respect, viz., that all religions profess to bring to mankind a better guide than is afforded by numerical superiority or majority rule, religious leadership is invariably intellectual as opposed to emotional guidance. Emotional rule can always count on the support of the most prolific, the great majority of mankind. Religious leaders always reject and stamp upon it. The favorite tenet of the devout is their own superiority to the numerous. "We are the elect, the few that have found truth and will be saved." Hence, the invariable characteristic of religious disciples and fanatics is their refusal to submit to majority rule or abide by a majority vote. Every religious group in the world could have been outvoted at the start, and probably could have been outvoted ever since; but every religion has owed its vitality to its followers' insistence on a higher standard than counting polls in the search for truth. Every religion has taught that truth comes not from below but from on high, to be ascertained, interpreted, manifested, by an intellect so superior that it has been given to only one man. Every religion teaches obedience to this minority of one; teaches that his doctrines are immortal, have the sanction of invisible law, and must still be obeyed after the teacher is dead. Without such religious obedience to a minority no civilization has ever risen. It is mathematically certain that intellectual guidance is necessary to the advancement of every group, and that neither intellectual nor eternal truth will ever be attained simply by asking questions of the most prolific.

254. Religion retains its intellectual leadership only as long as it is without temporal power. Usually this is synchronous with the period of its minority; although two early civi-

[1] "We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." (II Corinthians, IV, 18.)

lizations, Israel and Rome, enjoyed, through an accusatory criminal procedure, institutions of such freedom that, for some centuries, majorities and minorities neither persecuted nor suffered persecution. Whenever a religious group seizes temporal power and begins the infliction of worldly punishments, its intellectual leadership instantly ends and emotional rule begins; for then it governs by worldly fears. The pretence of intellectual superiority, of being the sole repository of truth, which it still maintains for appearance sake and in obedience to tradition, is no longer relied upon for conquest. Its victories now are won by the emotions. Carnal punishments excite the fears and subdue the will of those it vanquishes. Islam soon disdained intellectual conquest and advanced by fire and sword. Better religions, beginning humbly as an intellectual minority, have imitated the Moslems when they came to power. Humility, intellect, spiritual leadership, the Word of God, have been cast aside as outworn weapons, useless and cumbersome. Inquisition, persecution, chains, jails, torture, mutilation and death have taken their place. Invariably this marks a change from victory over the emotions, to victory by the emotions. Invariably, the group where this change takes place declines.

It is this interesting peculiarity of religious leadership that accounts for the noticeable superiority of all religious groups at their beginning. This superiority is not necessarily due to any superior merit in the religion itself; and the superiority may not last. If the religion itself is actually inferior, its followers may decline because they follow it into error; if it is actually superior, they may decline also because they misunderstand it and depart from it into error. The duration of superiority in a religious group is uncertain from both these causes. But, in spite of subsequent errors, each religious group may, at the start, be expected to be superior, because it begins with followers who voluntarily depart from worldly and numerical standards, and adopt spiritual and intellectual guidance. Any minority selected in this

manner from a larger group, is necessarily superior to the majority, and this will always be true at the beginning, even when the religious teachings which they follow are themselves erroneous. The necessity for some of their number to depart from worldly and numerical standards and to follow a different leadership, which, even if it is wrong, is spiritual, is felt by every advancing civilization, by every nation in which there is spiritual ferment. In spiritually healthy groups, the insistence on spiritual guidance is so strong, that as soon as the old religion becomes a majority and seizes temporal power, minority sects spring up. Obedience to the worldly rule of numerical superiority is abhorrent to them. They must belong to a minority for the spirit's sake. And as swarming shows the physical health of bees, so schism is a sign of spiritual health in men.

255. *Humility.*

It is a necessary corollary of all religious leadership that it teaches humility and not servility. Its followers must always begin as a minority asserting the superior sanctity of truth revealed to them and not to the rest of the world. They cannot appeal to visible and worldly standards set up by numerical majorities, because these majorities are against them. The world, and its powers and principalities, ministers and majorities, public opinion, all that is respectable and accepted and hallowed by ancient custom, must be defied and scorned. They bow the knee to invisible rule, obey unworldly commands, humble themselves before a power that has no courts or jails or headsmen. Thus by what they defy, and by what they obey, they leave servility and make humility their guide. Servility would teach them to obey earthly majorities and visible powers, capable of inflicting the pains and penalties of this world. Humility teaches them to face these stoutly and defy, endure, or overcome them; but to walk meekly and obediently in the law of their invisible leader, who has no power to inflict temporal punishment, and to bear themselves toward him with a humble and a contrite heart. That piety is humble

and not servile, and impiety servile but not humble, is observable in all minority religious groups. The same religious groups, when they increase to majorities, exercising temporal power and inflicting worldly punishments, may be seen invariably turning servile instead of humble.

It is a necessary corollary of humility that it teaches the mastership and suppression of the emotions. The devout minority who render obedience to their spiritual leader and defy the worldly majority, conquer their fears and exalt intellectual rule. By example and precept, they teach their children to trample upon the emotions as worldly things, and to obey intellect as a higher and better guide. Religious minorities therefore always command the obedience of children to parents. Wherever civilized man has advanced toward intellectual rule, the marked difference between youth and maturity is that, in youth, the emotions are largest in proportion to the intellect; in maturity the intellect is largest in proportion to the emotions. Where youth and maturity exercise an equal authority over conduct the superior vigor, activity, and perhaps numbers of the young tend to set up emotional standards. Where intellect never develops, as among savages, age has no quality capable of counteracting these standards, and parental rule over children does not effectuate an intellectual rule over emotions. The augmentation of intellect which marks groups rising in civilization, gives to maturity intellectual standards which youth does not possess; and the rule of children by civilized parents applies these intellectual standards to conduct. As long as civilization is rising, each succeeding generation is somewhat more intellectual than its forebears. If standards of conduct are fixed and enforced by government, then these less intellectual forebears retard, if they do not stop, posterity's intellectual growth. But if they are fixed by parents over children, the passage of time, by which each succeeding generation reaches maturity, places it in command and intellectual progress is certain.

The suppression of the emotions which teaches humility

and obedience by children toward parents, inculcates the same virtues by wives toward husbands. As daughter and wife, woman is taught that her emotions are worldly, and that humility, obedience, duty, require her chaste submission to the will of others. It is not surprising that this should be the religious teaching of religions founded by men. Its usefulness in the augmentation of intellect is plain. By substituting humility and obedience for sexual desire or emotion on the part of one sex, it adds these virtues to posterity. A group descended from a long line of genetrices who were given in marriage by submission to the will of a father, and then made fruitful by submission to the will of a husband, invariably displays a considerable mastership of emotions by intellect, and owes its certain superiority to the humble virtues of its mothers. The superiority of monogamy over polygamy is evidence of this truth. In polygamous marriage, where more than one woman is lawful to a man, woman's humility is not more fruitful but usually less fruitful than desire. Where women are given by fathers to husbands in indissoluble monogamous marriage, the humble and obedient will be more fruitful than the rebellious and proud. Humble women obey the godly ideals taught by their religion. They accept as a religious duty fruitful marriage or sterile virginity, whichever is exalted by their Church. By religious teaching their virtues are added to or subtracted from the group.

256. *Freedom.*

In respect to groups under a common government, freedom and diversity are interchangeable terms. One is cause, the other effect, but their relations are so simple and so certain, that either suffices to prove the existence of the other. Where government suffers freedom, there will be diversity; and where there is diversity, there is freedom. Spy government, punishing diversity, destroys freedom just to the extent that it compels uniformity. The ending of spy government restores freedom just to the extent that it permits diversity. "Freedom," therefore, means simply

freedom from visible, corporeal surveillance, prosecution and worldly punishment, by worldly power, of those who differ from others. The invisible and spiritual rule of mathematical law, is never relaxed. Supreme and infallible, it judges minorities and majorities alike. No group can escape its vigilance, reverse its decrees, or avert its punishments. The most perfect system of worldly espionage cannot oust its jurisdiction or usurp its power. Church and state are simply factors in a mathematical problem. They may rule, punish, reward or free the mortal unit. Mathematical law takes their conduct into account in deciding the fate of the group.

It is not the individual man or woman, but the union of man and woman which has progeny. Hence a human group is not truly an aggregation of individuals. Its true unit is the *family*, that union of man and woman from which posterity descends. It is the aggregation of these units and their posterity which is always governed by mathematical law; but each unit is subject to a multitude of various and unknown factors, corporeal as well as spiritual. In so far as these are pure chance, not consciously inflicted or escaped, they offset each other and may be cancelled off in the calculation of a number of units sufficiently large, and a time sufficiently long. Government introduces conscious factors maintained alike for many units, and for a long time. The results of these conscious, uniform and durable factors are visible and may be accurately computed, not only afterward but in advance.

In respect to its conduct toward others of its class, each unit is governed by a rule of practically universal application. It must not trespass upon others lest they trespass upon it. Its corporeal relations with others must be those of peace. In respect to its conduct toward itself, each unit is subject to either corporeal or spiritual rule; and these are mutually exclusive alternatives. There is either visible or invisible rule, but there cannot be both. Where the spirit reigns, there cannot be corporeal surveillance or coercion.

Where there is corporeal rule over conduct, there cannot be spiritual guidance.

Freedom simply enlarges the sphere of spiritual rule. It cannot promise immunity from punishment, but from worldly punishment. It sides with the invisible, omits corporeal espionage, prosecution, and punishment by worldly power, and so leaves the family unit to spiritual guidance, its members to the corporeal restraints and control of the family head. The antithesis of freedom is the spy system, where the eyes and hands of the state are always on the individual, and regulate his or her behavior. This enforces by corporeal means a carnal uniformity with no other spiritual selection than servility. Freedom abolishes spies or restricts them to the duty of detecting those guilty of violence or aggression. In their corporeal relations toward each other, mortal units are governed by rules of conduct mutually agreed upon, and equally applied or enforced by the state at the suit of either. There is no attempt at uniformity, and no obstacle to their differing from each other, provided the result of such difference is not violence or trespass. The sphere of corporeal or visible rule over behavior is small. Spiritual guidance is enlarged to embrace all conduct that does not attack others. Corporeal attack is defended by corporeal barriers; spiritual attack, or temptation, by spiritual defenses. The effect upon the group is to select for survival the family units whose spiritual guidance is best, or, if spiritual guidance is alike, the family units who are most prolific. Quality and quantity may both survive, not at the expense of each other.

It is this advantageous selection which makes freedom so important a factor in the improvement of posterity. In each family unit one sex is made fruitful either by humility and obedience, or by desire. The group which continuously selects its genetrices by the former factors tends to diminish sexual desire as an element of fecundity. Unless it can preserve humility it must disappear from lack of numbers. By increasing the sphere of spiritual rule, freedom enlarges

the advantages of piety and humility. If religion inculcates and fructifies these virtues, the most religious will be the most fruitful. But humility and servility are opposites, bred into posterity by a different selection of mothers, and posterity's intellect is augmented by that selection which makes humility more prolific than desire. As intellect is augmented, mankind becomes less fungible, diversity increases, and freedom is a necessity. Spiritual stature and the sphere of spiritual rule are enlarged together.

257. Freedom's visible benefits seem to be immediately bestowed only upon the minority of augmented nervous organizations. The majority, prolific from the mutual desires of both sexes, and therefore servile but not humble, seem at first to enjoy no visible gains from spiritual rule. Their mentality is almost wholly emotional, their intellects incapable of dominating their emotions. Visible and corporeal restraint, worldly guidance and worldly power, seem as necessary to them as freedom and spiritual guidance to the conscientious minority. This short-sighted view of its results accounts for the infrequent and transient periods of human freedom in history. It is a highly intellectual conception, attractive only to intellectual minorities, repugnant to the emotions, and therefore always rejected by prolific and servile majorities. Servility seeks in visible rule the same visible benefits which humility derives from spiritual rule. History shows an interesting psychological parallel between the multitude's worship of idols and visible things, and its love for corporeal and visible rule. From the time when Israel rejected the Lord and demanded a king, to the present day, this parallel may be easily traced. Freedom is adored by the intellectual few, numbers and power by the prolific multitude.[1]

[1] "The generality of mankind stand in awe of public opinion, while conscience is feared only by the few." (*Pliny's Letters*, Bk. III, XX.)

"It is but too true that the love, and even the very idea, of genuine liberty is extremely rare. It is but too true there are many whose whole scheme of freedom is made up of pride, perverseness and insolence.

It is of course a fact that freedom, if it can be endured for many generations, awards to the multitude the same benefits as to the few. It tends to perpetuate those stirpes which can best endure it, and are at the same time most prolific. So it steadily enlarges spiritual stature and strengthens the conscience of the group, without diminishing its fertility. The existence of freedom, even infrequently and transiently as it has appeared in rising civilizations, must nevertheless be accepted as some evidence of intellectual and minority rule. Freedom awards such advantages to intellect over emotion that it affords a very exact measurement of intellectual ascendancy. This measure may be applied with equal accuracy to time and to extent. In point of time; the ascendancy of intellect corresponds with the duration of freedom; and in extent: it corresponds with the area of freedom. Thus, where freedom extends to certain classes of society, and not to others, the ascendancy of intellect over emotion will be found to correspond with the free classes.

They feel themselves in a state of thraldom, they imagine that their souls are cooped and cabined in, unless they have some man, or some body of men, dependent on their mercy. This desire of having some one below them descends to those who are the very lowest of all; and a Protestant cobbler, debased by his poverty, but exalted by his share of the ruling Church, feels a pride in knowing it is by his generosity alone that the peer, whose footman's instep he measures, is able to keep his chaplain from a jail. This disposition is the true source of the passion which many men in very humble life have taken to the American war. *Our* subjects in America, *our* colonies, *our* dependants. This lust of party-power is the liberty they hunger and thirst for; and this syren song of ambition has charmed ears that one would have thought were never organised to that sort of music." (Edmund Burke, *Speech at Bristol*, 1780.)

The lust of party power and domination noticed by Burke has been characteristic of the prolific multitude of low nervous organizations in all lands and all ages. They associate liberty with equality; equality with uniformity; and they are ever ready to persecute and punish the few who differ from them. The true freedom which admits of diversity makes no appeal to the prolific multitude of low nervous organizations. In some modern democracies this rule may seem to have been suspended or obscured for a generation, but it is founded on mathematical truth, and is in fact universal.

If there are certain spheres of thought, speech, letters, and conduct, where freedom is allowed, and others where it is proscribed, intellectual progress will be found always greater in the former than in the latter. Mathematics and religion furnish a familiar comparison easily applied. There have been few persecutions for heresy in mathematics, and freedom has been general. There have been innumerable persecutions for heresy in religion, and freedom has been very unusual. Compare the intellectual progress of mathematical science and religious science.

258. *Mathematical Science.*

The intellectual riches of every group may be assayed by its attainments in the science of mathematics. This is an infallible test. It is applicable only to groups, since the very highest civilizations have numbered a vast proportion, perhaps a majority, of their population who were incapable of understanding the rule of three, or vulgar fractions. A comparison of the mathematical attainments of most of the individuals in all ancient civilizations, might show a standard equally low for all; a comparison of the respective groups shows that intellect, civilization, and mathematical science rise and fall together.

The reason why mathematical achievement marks exactly a group's intellectual attainments, is plain. As the test is applied to groups, and not to individuals, chance is eliminated. The augmentation of intellect in individuals has a variety of manifestations, which includes the science of mathematics with many other sciences. In a civilized group, this variety assures the fact that some one or more of the group will have an intellect devoted chiefly to mathematics. If intellect continues to rise through several generations, early mathematical accomplishments will be recorded, preserved, and surpassed; and it is only when intellect begins to decline that posterity will add nothing to past mathematical science, and will finally be less learned than its own progenitors.

As the test of mathematical achievement, applied to the

group eliminates chance, so the nature of the test eliminates error. The advancement of mathematical science is necessarily and only in the direction of truth. Its accomplishments are exact, immutable, and eternal. The demonstration in plane geometry that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, or that the square of the hypothenuse of a right angle triangle equals the sum of the squares of the sides, remains after it is once made, undisputed, unquestioned, and undebatable. It is the peculiarity of mathematical science that it is unnecessary to go backward and re-examine old ground. Every step forward is accomplished for all time, and is securely established as a new starting point for a further advance. No one regards Pliny's natural history as the secure starting point for future achievement in biological or zoölogical science. Everyone, however, takes Euclid's plane geometry, or the Arabs' algebra, as complete and perfect as far as they go, so that they need not be re-examined; and as the point at which future learning may safely begin.

Not only does the test of the group's mathematical achievements eliminate chance and error, but it also measures accurately the degree of intellect. It is the peculiarity of mathematical science that the material for its advancement is always the same. All the data necessary for the discovery of algebra, or the decimal system, or the binomial theorem, existed unchanged from the beginning of the world. It was the same when men dwelt in caves as when they dwelt in tents, the same when they dwelt in tents as when they dwelt in houses or palaces, the same in every climate, every race, and every age. That mathematical truth is discovered at one time and not at another, in one land and not in another, by one human group and not by others, marks simply and infallibly their intellectual differences. Not by exploration of land or water, nor by penetrating into the wilderness, delving into the earth, or piercing the skies, is anything added to mankind's knowledge of numbers. All other sciences deal with visible things; but the science of

mathematics, alone the science of invisible things, requires no carnal aids. A mind's eye of sufficient vision and an intellect of sufficient power, may learn within the four walls of a hut, all the science of numbers that has yet been gained by mankind.

259. These four manifestations of intellectual ascendancy—religion, humility, freedom and mathematical science—have appeared together in all rising civilizations. There is doubtless a law of causation. Chronologically they seem to follow the order in which I have placed them; so that religion marks the rise of civilization, humility and freedom its progress, and achievements in mathematical science its culmination. Numerically they show an equal constancy. Religion becomes the common inspiration of a group. Humility is manifested by only a part of these; freedom is adored by a still smaller number; and mathematical science is attained by the fewest of all. So that rising civilizations, in respect to their intellectual aspects, may be likened to a cone, whereof the base, which is first in time and in numbers, is religion; the second course, which comes next in both time and numbers, is humility; the third course, still later in time and fewer in numbers, is freedom, and the apex, last and fewest of all, is mathematical science. All the necessary evidence as to their chronological and numerical relationship may be found in history.

260. In respect to religion, all the groups of rising civilizations recorded in history have yielded obedience to a religious leader, i.e. in all cases to minority and invisible rule. All these religious leaders taught an invisible God. Moses taught it to Israel, Pythagoras to Greece, Numa to Rome, Mohammed to Islam, Jesus to Christendom. In all cases, the rise of civilization has corresponded with the period when this invisible minority rule exercised a purely intellectual and spiritual ascendancy over the group; when religion did not wield carnal weapons, inflict corporeal punishment, or conquer by worldly power. In Israel, this was the period of the spiritual ascendancy of the prophets

and judges, and ended with the carnal uniformity imposed upon his subjects by the system of espionage and corporeal rule of King Josiah. In Greece, it corresponded to the period of intellectual freedom and religious diversity which ended when Socrates was condemned and slain for heresy. In Rome, it extended through the whole period of accusatory criminal procedure from Numa to Constantine. Such religious persecution (of the Christians) as existed during this period was never effective in stamping out obnoxious sects. Religious diversity continued until the Christians seized temporal power, and in their turn persecuted unbelievers. The new criminal procedure and spy government established throughout the empire in the fourth century, furnished the Christians with effective weapons which they were quick to seize. Spiritual conquest, by which Christianity had won an empire, was abandoned, Inquisitors of the Faith were employed, and worldly tortures and punishments inflicted. Religious conformity was decreed and enforced. This marked the end of the Christian rise, and began its fall.

In Islam, the conquest of the sword was complete in a hundred years. Spiritual ascendancy began when the posterity begotten by the male conquerors on the women of conquered lands, exchanged the sword for the ploughshare and the pen. For three centuries, religious freedom flourished in Islam as nowhere else in the contemporaneous world. Intellectual freedom and the advancement of science, there found refuge. Nominally under the rule of the prophet, his own commands were disobeyed with impunity, wine was freely drunk, and a great commerce in it was carried on. It was later that bigotry, intolerance and idolatrous obedience to the letter of the Koran were enforced by temporal power. That period marked Islam's decline.[1]

[1] Even when their Christian subjects retained their religion (and were then termed 'Mozarabes') the Moors frequently admitted them to high posts, even to the command of Moslem armies. The fanatical spirit only began to appear at the beginning of the twelfth century, and the

With modern Christendom, civilization's Renaissance began where Christian missionaries preached the Word to the unconverted barbarians of Northern Europe; not in Constantinople, Christianity's ancient stronghold, where it had exercised temporal power for a thousand years. With spiritual weapons resumed, intellectual ascendancy again held sway. Where the Church gained temporal power, and persecuted minorities, civilization's rise was retarded or blocked. It moved steadily onward, and went furthest, where spiritual minorities continuously rose.

261. The manifestations of humility appeared with the same regularity in each rising civilization. Humility always follows spiritual religious leadership and ends when religion seizes worldly power. In Israel, this was shown first in the proverbial meekness of Moses; again in the humble virtues of Hannah, of Jephtha's daughter, of Ruth, and in the housewife portrayed by King Lemuel in the last chapter of Proverbs. In Israel, as afterward in Islam, polygamy made humility fruitful only during the pioneer days of lusty and warlike men. Inherited polygamy gradually extinguished it. Accordingly, from the glory of Solomon in one case, and of Haroun al Raschid in the other, humility disappeared from these polygamous civilizations, and servility took its place. Isaiah gave indignant testimony to the change in Israel, and predicted its downfall "because the daughters of Zion are haughty." In his day, humility had ceased to be a factor favorable to the increase of posterity, and Israel's downfall was near.

In both Greece and Rome, it is noticeable that strict monogamous marriage, so long as it was retained, was effective in making humility fruitful, and transmitting it to posterity. No ancient civilizations have shown a greater

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intimate alliance and mingling of Christian and Moor continued even to the last." (Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain*, Chap. II.)

The Moslem toleration of the Christian Copts in Egypt, and of Jews in all Moslem lands, is well known.

contrast between the traits of humility and servility. For two centuries, the Romans may be seen continuously trembling before invisible powers. As often as an untoward or unusual event—a rain of blood, a shower of stones, a talking ox, or a temple struck by lightning—portended, as they thought, the wrath of invisible gods, they sought to expiate the national sins. Sacrifices were made, fasts and supplications decreed, ordinary business suspended, the ancient temples filled with worshippers, new temples vowed and erected. They humbled themselves before the powers that they could not see, the things that were not of this world. When they confronted worldly, visible power, their attitude was just the reverse. The laws of Numa had accustomed them to spiritual, not to corporeal rule. So they bowed the knee to nothing that they could see, but fought armies and navies, elephants and towers with equal courage. Nothing better illustrates the Roman character, founded on humility, than Livy's anecdote of the embassy of Popilius to present the decree of the Senate to King Antiochus, forbidding him to make war against Egypt. On the approach of the ambassadors he saluted them and held out the right hand to Popilius.

"But Popilius put into his hand a written tablet, containing the decree of the Senate, and desired him first to peruse that. On perusing it, he said, that he, after calling his friends together, would consult on what was to be done; on which Popilius, with the usual asperity of his disposition, drew a line around the king, with a wand which he held in his hand, and said, 'Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to the Senate.' Astonished at such a peremptory injunction, the king hesitated for some time; but at last replied, 'I will do as the senate directs.' Popilius then thought proper to stretch out his right hand to him; as to a friend and ally." (Livy, *History of Rome*, Bk. XLV, Chap. II.)

This Popilius, stern and unbending before an earthly potentate, was descended from generations of meek women

made fruitful through humility; and had more than once bowed himself before invisible gods, with tears and vows and supplications.

262. The early Christians followed the Romans in strict monogamous marriage; and in the Christian sect the virtue of humility was again made fruitful after it had departed from pagan Rome. St. Augustine draws a beautiful picture of it in St. Monica his mother. It followed again as always the period of intellectual, spiritual, religious leadership; i.e., the period when Christianity was a minor sect, excluded from temporal power, unable to persecute with carnal weapons or inflict worldly punishments. Humility departed instantly when Christians seized the throne of temporal power, and changed their intellectual victories to emotional conquest by worldly fears. This change heralded the end of the Christian empire in the west, and began its long stagnation, decline and decay in the east.

The Christian Renaissance began after the newly converted barbarians of Northern Europe had conquered the Mediterranean countries. There was a period of real spiritual leadership, marked by the crusades, before heresy hunting begins. The century most marked by intellectual and moral ferment, was the thirteenth. In this century, the common aspect of women in the land-owning and burgher classes, was one of humility, obedience and submission to the will of others.[1]

This was in the upper and middle classes. Among the peasants it was otherwise. "The lower the position in the social scale and the farther away we get from cities, the nearer do we approach free choice in betrothal. We find a certain amount of courting, even." It was the

[1] "Three ancient stanzas that seem to come straight from the heart of a young girl tell us, in plaintive simple numbers, of a despotic father, a husband about to be thrust upon her, tortured hours, and her resolve to accept the only way of escape, by dedicating herself to God. Very, very rarely do we find a girl resisting her matrimonial fate." (William Boulting, *Women in Italy*, Chap. II.)

burghers and landowners of this age that achieved freedom and augmented intellect. Later, as the Italian Renaissance reached its apex and declined, the Church lost spiritual leadership and maintained itself by worldly punishments as a worldly power. Aristocratic women were no longer humble. In the sixteenth century, Italy was full of female academies of fantastic name, in a sort precursors of women's clubs, where women made orations or read verses. From this century Italy declined, and it was in Protestant Europe that spiritual religious leadership and humility were again to be found. In Elizabethan England, Taine observes with surprise the humility of the women, and the freedom of the men. It is noticeable also that in France the respective classes of society exchanged their traits. In the thirteenth century, women of the upper classes were humble and obedient, while the women of the peasantry fulfilled their own desires. From the sixteenth century onward, aristocratic women were proud and independent, and wifely submission or obedience was highly unfashionable. Humility had found refuge in the bourgeoisie or lower classes. In the eighteenth century, no longer servile, they overthrew Church, aristocracy and king and worship liberty.

263. The evidence that freedom is invariably synchronous with the invisible minority rule of an intellectual or spiritual religious leader or law-giver, and with the fruitfulness of humble women continuously adding their strain of humility to posterity, hardly needs recital. In Israel, freedom is found in the period before temporal power was vested in the hands of a king; and while humble women were still fruitful. Among the Hellenes, free institutions corresponded geographically with that area of Greek settlement where women were modest, chaste, obscure, and submissive. Spartan women were less humble, and Spartans were less free, than the other European Greeks, and the Lydians, whose daughters practiced prostitution and contracted themselves in marriage, were not free at all. The chronologi-

cal boundaries of Greek freedom are equally plain. From the time that modesty and humility had permanently departed from Athenian women, freedom was permanently lost to Athens.

In Rome, it was the same. The period of five hundred years when modesty and humility were made fruitful under the spiritual and invisible rule of Numa, was contemporaneous with the rise of pagan Rome to the empire of the Mediterranean world. It was synchronous, likewise, with the exaltation of the patrician *gens* where marriage and family rule were strict. When the women of this class ceased to be humble its decline began, and its destruction followed. There was a period of irreligion, insurrection, civil war, and corporeal rule by numerical standards. Men ceased to worship invisible gods, or to tremble before invisible power; they deified worldly and visible authority, erected statues to Cæsar Augustus, and worshipped his image. Humility departed, and servility took its place. For three centuries, the decline of paganism may be observed in the want of any spiritual leadership in religion; in the rise of feminine ambition, power and pride; and in the consequent growth of concubinage, so that humility was no longer made fruitful by strict monogamous marriage. In this period, the pagans lost freedom altogether. The Christian sect, the only inhabitants of the empire who followed the spiritual invisible religious leadership of a minority, became humble instead of servile, retained the virtue of humility in daughters and wives, transmitted it to posterity by strict monogamous marriage, and rose in spiritual grace as the pagans declined. Pagans and Christians changed places, the former were persecuted, the latter seized temporal power, and the Christian decline began. From the time that Christianity ceased to be a religion following the leadership of an invisible, spiritual minority, and became a Church whose articles of faith were settled by worldly majorities and enforced by worldly power, the Christian empire went to smash. The loss of spiritual leadership was followed by the loss of humil-

ity, the growth of servility, the destruction of freedom. When spiritual grace dies, all dies.

In modern history, freedom has risen again on the same terms and conditions as in ancient times. Before the institution of the Holy Office in the thirteenth century, and the consolidation of the Pope's temporal power in Rome, when the Church's weapons were spiritual rather than carnal, freedom began again. In Italy, there were a multitude of heretical sects, religious dissent and diversity reappeared, women were humble and obedient, and their virtues were transmitted to posterity. At this time the Italian republics of the Middle Ages rose and flourished, and the Italian Renaissance began. As the Church gained temporal power, orthodoxy was fixed by visible authority, heresy was searched by inquisition, punished by carnal weapons and stamped out by corporeal means. Beliefs, instead of being tested in the crucible of intellect, where minorities survive, were moulded and shaped by emotion, where numbers and power prevail. When the Church ended its spiritual leadership, humility and freedom were lost to the Italians; servility and despotism returned.

Italy's spiritual gains were, in the sixteenth century transmitted to the Protestant countries of Northern Europe, where there was achieved, by the same means and on the same terms, the same Renaissance that three centuries earlier had appeared in Italy. It has followed the same course; but in Protestant countries the cycle is not yet complete.

264. Besides the particular histories of separate civilizations, a general review of Asia and Europe furnishes interesting evidence of the relation between freedom and intellect. Beginning certainly with the eleventh century B.C., when an imperial decree abolished the use of wine in China, Asiatics have lived generally under governmental or ecclesiastical espionage and control. India, and Persia likewise, were ruled by an official and state police at least five hundred years before Christ. So that, for some twenty-five or thirty

centuries, it has been the theory and practice of Asiatic governments to deny the individual freedom of their subjects and to establish uniform rules of conduct for all to obey. There is abundant evidence of intellectual activity in Asia before this period. Various arts and sciences were known to the East long before they were rediscovered in the west. The system of notation which Christians call Arabic, the Arabs in fact derived from India; and it testifies to a remarkable development of Asiatic intellect in former times.

In Europe, there has never been the same complete denial of freedom. It has been lost at different times under different governments, and on various areas large and small. But the complete and simultaneous exhaustion of all freedom throughout the whole of European civilization, has never occurred. Animals cannot live without oxygen, nor intellectual life without freedom. When men could no longer breathe freedom in the air of Asia, intellect choked and died. In Europe, it rose and flourished. "The unchanging East" expresses the common judgment of Europeans on Asiatics.

Interesting testimony is afforded by the rise of intellect in maritime and trading cities. The peculiarity of these many flourishing ports is the narrow bounds of their own government's rule compared to the wide area of their inhabitants' activities. In each of these cities its government rules the immediate port, the city's streets and houses, and the small contiguous area devoted to agriculture. But its citizens, when they sail beyond the harbor, adventure into deep waters and visit alien coasts, become immediately and equally free from their government's rule. Their own theology, legislatures, police, espionage, prosecutors, priests and courts, are left behind, with all their advantages and their disadvantages. Each merchant adventurer sails into a region where his behavior toward himself is regulated by spiritual and not corporeal espionage; toward others by rules mutually agreed upon. In all these trading cities,

accordingly, a large part of the inhabitants have been inured to freedom. They have sustained long voyages where they must live by freedom or die. The affinity of intellect for these trading communities is exhibited in every era. In vast land regions ruled by established church and government, where the life and conduct of each citizen is perpetually under espionage and control, many millions of inhabitants, generation after generation, have lived and died without intellectual progress. In little trading ports, where all enterprising inhabitants have carried on a large part of their life pursuits away from home, and free from their own government and church, civilization has been continuously maintained and advanced, spiritual leaven always at work. Better than any other part of the ancient world the shores of the Mediterranean adapted themselves to this rule. The sea was sufficiently turbulent to be perilous, but not too dangerous to be navigated with skill. A great variety of nations, governments, races, languages, and religions surrounded its shores. In all its trading ports, were men whose merchandising carried them continuously to regions where they were free from priestly espionage and governmental control. The quality of their spiritual guidance, the moral fibre of their own characters, were the chief factors in their survival and success. Compare the continuous intellectual activity of the Mediterranean region, for three thousand years, with the stagnation of great empires like China and Persia, where an equal land area has been under uniform government rule.

265. As all civilizations are rooted in religious teaching, their progress, height, and duration attest in some degree the quality of their religious roots. The test must be applied with reasonable circumspection. A perfect relation of cause and effect between a religious leader and the civilization which follows him, would arise only if it appeared that his religion were perfectly understood and perfectly and continuously obeyed. It is doubtful whether this could be affirmed in the case of any religion or any civilization. But

even with all necessary allowances, the familiar test "by their fruits ye shall know them," may still be applied to various religions and their resulting civilizations, and certain conclusions as to the relative value of religious teachings may be reached and stated.

It is noticeable that European has excelled Asiatic civilization; and that in Europe the group whose civilization was founded on the teachings of Numa and Jesus, has excelled all other groups. These two religions have many characteristics in common, and together marked a sharp departure from all other religious teachings. Although imperfectly understood, and imperfectly obeyed, it is still true that in Rome, and in all that part of Europe which has been politically or spiritually tributary to Rome, the religious teachings peculiar to Numa and Jesus have been important factors in the guidance of the inhabitants for a period nowhere less than ten centuries, and extending (in Rome itself) up to some twenty-six centuries. The history of this region, contrasted with the history during the same period of other regions whose inhabitants have had characteristically different religious guidance, affords enough evidence to warrant a rational judgment of the human value of their different religious teachings.

266. The first characteristic peculiar to both Numa and Jesus was the religious teaching of strict monogamous marriage as an ordinance of God. Before Numa, monogamy had been an honored custom among the Greeks and probably also among the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians in the beginning of their rising civilizations. It was perhaps once a custom in Babylon. In none of these countries was it sanctified by religious command; nor did any of them attach the stigma of wickedness to plural wives. Hence breaches of the general custom were sufficiently frequent so that there was no long succession of generations unaccustomed to the sight or the idea of polygamy. And as their arms conquered and they grew in wealth and power, plurality of women in wives or concubines, was accepted as a lawful privilege by

all these Asiatic peoples including the Asiatic and European Greeks.

Numa gave to monogamy religious sanction, the peculiar authority of a divine commandment. Under his religious teachings, the early Romans came to look upon marriage as a sacred union of one woman to one man. It was a religious ceremonial; the divine ordination of a virgin to maternal duties. It was celebrated by a priest, and none but those born to such a religious union were eligible to the priesthood. Marriage as a religious sacrament was at first practiced only by the upper classes at Rome. It spread however gradually downward through the other orders of society and gradually improved and exalted the character of every Roman. Its decline as a religious institution began, likewise, among the patricians and spread downward so as gradually to debase in turn the various lower orders.

Jesus appeared and taught the same religious sanctity of monogamous marriage as an ordinance of God, while it was still intact among a great part of the poorer classes and the provincials of the Roman world; while it was still praised if not practiced, by the patricians and equities of Rome itself, and while imperial decrees were attempting by temporal power to revive the ancient purity of manners. He was rejected and crucified by the polygamous race to which He was born; but his worship gradually spread among the Gentiles of the empire for whom the righteousness of monogamy was an ancient and inherited belief. As the religion of Numa gradually disappeared from Roman life, that of Jesus strengthened, and the pagans, whose sexual unions had become Asiatic, were displaced by the Christian converts, who revived, under a new religion, those forgotten virtues of sexual purity and monogamy which had first been taught by Numa.

The era of the destruction and the decay of Roman civilization, marked the period when the teachings of Numa and Jesus were both rejected and loose sexual unions were the rule. The invasion of the Teutonic tribes from Northern

Europe, brought Christianity again in contact with a people already addicted to monogamous marriage, and holding it in the highest honor. Monogamous marriage as a religious sacrament, celebrated by a religious ceremony, was re-established. The family unit of one man and one woman living together in lawful purity, monogamous marriage by divine ordinance, lived again as a Christian ideal two thousand years after it had first been taught by Numa. Its effect was the same. It again exalted the spirit of mankind in those very territories where it had been practiced and abandoned before.

267. The second characteristic which distinguished the religions of Numa and Jesus from all others, was the absence of taboo. This was a striking departure not only from the earlier religions, but likewise from the later religion taught by Mohammed. All these other religious teachers were alike in commanding obedience to a multitude of religious prohibitions extending to every branch of human life and conduct. Nothing was outside their scope. Modern nations can hardly match, certainly they cannot exceed or excel, the ancients in the number and variety of forbidden things. They began with the ritual of religious ceremonial itself. Religion was shrouded in mystery, religious knowledge the monopoly of a priestly caste, who alone could intercede with God. The Holy of Holies was not for profane eyes or common men, and it was death for the unanointed to look upon or touch sacred things. From holy rites, prohibitions extended down to all the common things and acts of daily life. The dress of both sexes, the manner of wearing the hair and beard, intercourse with other men, and with women, interest on money, the things that believers might lawfully eat, drink, and touch, the tillage and harvest of their fields, the slaughter of cattle, and the manner of cookery, their speech, their ablutions, and their attitude in prayer—all these and an infinite variety of other things, too many to search up and catalogue, were the subjects of minute regulations and stern prohibitions. "Thou shalt

not" was the beginning and the end of religion. Half the common things and events of life were "unclean." Even the marriage bed was not exempt; and priestly arrogance attempted to regulate, command and forbid the intercourse of men with their wives.

Numa and Jesus brushed all these prohibitions aside. This one notable feature, characteristic of both their religious systems, stands out as a departure from all others. They commanded monogamous marriage; they made it nearly indissoluble by admitting few causes of lawful divorce; and, having thus avoided that certain debasement of posterity which results from an unfavorable selection of mothers, they discarded all other prohibitions. They created no priestly caste, nor separated their followers from the immediate fellowship of God, nor subjected them to priestly rule. Under Numa, every paterfamilias was priest, ruler and schoolmaster in his own household. Jesus bade his followers abandon ritual and ceremonial, seen of men, and pray to God in their own closets. The favorite prohibitions of ages—of wine, of swine's flesh, of unclean things, of labor on holy days—were abandoned and flouted by Numa and Jesus alike. The religion of Numa carried no proscriptions of food or drink or labor, no catalogue of unclean things. Jesus was a guest of sinners, a friend of publicans, changed water to wine, came eating and drinking, disputing the law, breaking the Sabbath, touching lepers, forgiving harlots, scandalizing the orthodox prohibitionists of Judæa. Under Numa, the state forgave most offences, and the chief courts of correction were the family tribunals. Jesus repudiated prosecution and punishment altogether, and taught temporal forgiveness instead. Romans and Christians alike were bidden to improve the quality of posterity and exalt the spirit of mankind; and then to live freely by the spirit and not under the visible rule of priests.[1]

[1] A state may seek salvation by forgiveness or by taboo, but not by both; for it is impossible to forgive offences, and at the same time enforce taboo. And it is noticeable that as soon as a state adopts prohibition, it

268. The superiority of their methods is fully attested by their success in attaining the very virtues which other religious teachers proclaimed and sought to achieve. Moses and Mohammed taught the worship of an invisible God; but inherited polygamy reduced their followers' nervous organization so that they could attach their worship only to visible things. Numa and Jesus exalted the spirit of posterity so that it could turn from the worship of visible to invisible things. Asiatic religions paid lip service to the spirit, but ruled men by visible restraints and carnal punishments. Numa and Jesus by repudiating prosecution and punishment exalted the spirit as the sole and infallible judge of man. Polygamous religions taught humility; but polygamy bred a posterity that was servile and not humble. The monogamous religions of Numa and Jesus made humility fruitful. Polygamous religions taught chastity, continence, and sexual purity; but, by polygamy, the greater fruitfulness of ardent women lost all these things to posterity. Monogamy made woman's sexual coldness and sexual purity fruitful, and so raised each generation's standard of chastity. Polygamous religions taught the sanctity of private property; but polygamy, forbidding mothers an exclusive title in the fathers of their children, gradually reduced posterity's conception of exclusive rights. Monogamy exalted to a religious sacrament the sole title of one wife in one husband, and thus bred into posterity an ever rising standard of private property.

Finally, polygamous religions effectually abandoned for mankind all the spiritual benefits of diversity; their follow-

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necessarily abandons altogether the ideals and even the pretence of forgiveness. The enforcement of prohibition demands that the disobedient be spied upon, prosecuted, and punished. Forgiveness ceases to be a Christian virtue, and becomes itself a civil offence. All the powers of government are devoted to enforcing uniform obedience to the national taboo, and civic righteousness, and civic duty are standardized and esteemed by the number of offenders punished, and the degree of obedience attained. In preaching forgiveness Jesus repudiated taboo.

ers were standardized on a plane which made fecundity or sexual prowess the chief, often the sole factor influencing posterity. Spiritual differences were of so little account that they disappeared. In the religions of both Numa and Jesus the reversal of this was a remarkable and revolutionary achievement. A striking fact, common to all religions which admit the lawfulness of polygamy, is the fact that it is most practiced in the higher orders of society. As men's nervous organization is augmented, so that they become superior to their fellow-men, increase in wealth and power, command armies and conquer nations, their sexual relations in polygamous countries are more lax, and approach nearer to promiscuity. It is the rich, valiant, commanding men who can afford the largest harems and multiply the numbers of their wives and concubines. The multitude of their subjects, poor, downtrodden, heavily taxed, are usually reduced by necessity to but one wife. Monogamy in these countries, therefore, exists only in those classes of society where poverty and labor make it impossible for women to give birth to augmented nervous organizations. The only women who survive are those who bear children with smaller heads. The minority of subjects who emerge from grinding poverty to the abundance and comfort necessary for the birth and maintenance of augmented nervous organizations, abandon monogamy at once. They seek the luxury and ostentation of many wives and concubines; and in their plurality of women sexual coldness is effectively sterilized.

Numa and Jesus exactly reversed this order. They taught that monogamy was a religious sacrament ordained of God. The higher nervous organizations among their followers, the most successful men, the rich and powerful, and the spiritual leaders whom everyone looked up to, were bound to monogamous marriage more than anyone else. The poor, the obscure, peasants, serfs and slaves, might be, and often were, extremely lax in their sexual relations. In this class, there might be a great deal of plurality, pro-

miscuity, easy marriage, easy divorce, little or no religious sanctity attached to the marital relation. This was, in fact, actually the case. Among the proletariat in Rome, a man and woman were married if they cohabited together for a year. The peasantry of Christian Europe for several centuries were married in the same way. It was in the upper classes that marriage was an indissoluble religious ceremony, giving an exclusive status to husband and wife. And thus, under the religion of Numa and Jesus, the strictness of monogamous marriage attached to those classes of society in which the nervous organization was already highest, and where wealth and power made it possible to enlarge further the spiritual stature of posterity. This noteworthy departure from all other religions, accounts for the splendid success achieved by Numa and Jesus in exalting the genius of their civilizations.

269. As it was pointed out in the case of freedom that, if the Byzantine empire be excepted, inquisitorial criminal procedure and prosecution by spy government have been for about twenty-five centuries the marked characteristic of Asiatic, accusatory procedure, freedom and forgiveness, of European governments, so a like geographical boundary can be traced for religion. If the Byzantine empire, which departed from the teachings of both Numa and Jesus, be excepted, the generic divisions of mankind's chief religions may be stated in geographical terms.

In Asia, religion dwarfed the spiritual stature of posterity by polygamy, and improvement was sought through the carnal correction of mankind by prohibition, prosecution and punishment.

In Europe, the religions of Numa and Jesus augmented posterity's spiritual stature by monogamy, and exalted the spiritual improvement of mankind by freedom, charity and forgiveness.

These opposing principles permeated all ecclesiastical and civil government in the two continents. Since the multitude of prohibitions in Asiatic religions could be en-

forced only by priests and spies, priestly rule and spy government became the common and ancient usage of Asiatic groups, and servility and obedience to visible things and worldly powers, the common traits of Asiatic peoples. In Europe, the augmented nervous organization, due to an improved selection of mothers by monogamy, bred a meek and rebellious posterity which humbled themselves before invisible rule, but defied priests and spies.

This general difference between Asia and Europe is corroborated and emphasized by observing the European imitations of Asiatic methods. Wherever European marriage customs became lax so that monogamous marriage no longer enforced maternity on cold women; where divorce was easy, frequent, and granted alike on the petition of either sex or by mutual consent; where religious or ceremonial marriage was abandoned or dishonored, and simple contractual unions, concubinage, or marital relations of no religious sanctity, became common; or where the Church dedicated great numbers of chaste and pious virgins to religious sterility instead of to holy fruitfulness—in every such European group Asiatic traits appeared in posterity, men worshipped and obeyed visible things, servility displaced humility, priestly rule and spy government appeared, and civilization wore an Asiatic aspect. Cause and effect in these cases follow with mathematical certainty, and the reader will have no difficulty in tracing the evidence through the pages of history.

270. All religious teaching on which the civilizations of Asia and Europe were founded had some things in common; and all was a great step forward from barbarism. All these religions taught an invisible God; the wickedness of human sacrifice; and the possession of property in severalty by freemen. Groups who follow these teachings necessarily advance from barbarism and attain some measure of civilization. At the beginning they are selected groups. A religious leader who only taught an invisible God, would exercise, by that teaching alone, a potent influence for the

improvement of his disciples. The minority which would be attracted to his worship would be intellectually superior to the idolatrous majority. If he taught also the wickedness of human sacrifice and the sanctity of private property, there would be a further improvement. These doctrines would give to his group of followers some of the mathematical advantages of diversity. Piety would not be sacrificed but would be fruitful; property would be unequally divided, and there would be rich and poor. Some factors other than sexual prowess would influence the selection of posterity, and during the period of his religion's minority, especially if his followers were pioneers in a new land, without inherited polygamy or inherited wealth, there should be for some generations a decided improvement.

But there would be lacking two factors essential for permanent improvement and a durable civilization. It was the singular and beautiful perfection of the religions of Numa and Jesus that they taught the three religious doctrines necessary to begin the improvement of mankind, and added two others necessary to the duration of improvement—monogamy and diversity. Other religions both before and after them (I include, of course, Islam) lacking these two factors, were unable to hold their gains. Inherited polygamy gradually debased the intellect of posterity so that groups which began with the pure worship of an invisible God, sank to an idolatrous worship of visible things. The same cause gradually impaired the ideal of private property; and, if the religious sacrifice of human life were avoided, the religious sterilization of the pious was adopted, with the same effect upon posterity. All these religions relied upon prohibitions and priestly rule, so that in all these groups a long period of uniformity, spiritual stagnation and decay followed the early period of spiritual exaltation and growth.

When Numa and Jesus taught the religious sacrament of monogamous marriage, and a religion which forbade nothing but polygamy, they added to older religions the religious

factors necessary for a durable civilization. Their religions were adapted not only to create, but to continue and to preserve augmented nervous organizations. These are created by religious monogamy, which instead of leaving posterity to descend only from the mutual desires of both sexes, introduces woman's humility, piety, obedience, and abnegation as important factors in fecundity. They are preserved by the absence of religious prohibitions, so that augmented nervous organizations may live in that environment of freedom and diversity so necessary to their existence.

271. The influence of Numan and Christian religious teachings on the inhabitants of Europe is very apparent. To their teachings, European civilization, Roman and modern, owes its vitality and duration. The Celts, an ancient, numerous, and warlike race of white Europeans, were never civilized by their own religion. Roman conquest brought them in contact with the religious teaching of Numa; Christian missionaries brought them the gospel of Jesus; and, under these two, the Celtic race has improved from the sack of Rome to the present day. The Germans, Goths, and Normans had, in pagan times, providentially monogamous marriage, an invisible God, and a great love of freedom. The Christian seed which never took root in polygamous and servile Asia, quickened and flourished among the monogamous and freedom-loving Franks, Goths, Teutons, and Danes. But the Christian religion as preached to them had a Numan, rather than a Mosaic background. Christian theology has incorporated the books of Moses in its Bible; but the repudiation of Moses is the outstanding feature of the Christian Gospel. Christendom owes to Moses, perhaps, the week and the tithe, both of which were unknown to Numa. In everything else the ethical and religious ideals of modern civilized Christians, their religious calendar, feasts and solemnities, daily life, diet, aspect, marriage, morals and social usages are derived from a combination of Numa and Jesus, not of Moses and Jesus. Moses taught his followers a long list of religious

taboo, Asiatic in all respects, except that it did not include wine; but allowed and sometimes even required polygamy. Numa and Jesus excluded taboo, ordained monogamous marriage; and taught the ceremonial use of bread and wine in their religious feasts and solemnities. So that the Holy Communion of Christians contains, to this day, the same elements prescribed by Numa for religious sacrifices seven centuries before the birth of Christ.

The true successor of Moses was Mohammed. Their life history, religious experience, ideals, and teachings, were about the same. Both preached one invisible God; taught circumcision; gave religious sanction to polygamy and prohibitions; and (except for wine) prohibited nearly the same things. A pious Jew in the reign of Solomon, and a pious Moslem in the reign of Haroun al Raschid, one obeying the Pentateuch, the other the Koran, would lead their daily lives nearly alike, their religious worship, households, diet, government, and prohibitions fixed by laws that were nearly the same. For a Roman living under the laws of Numa or Jesus, all this would be changed. What was lawful under Moses or Mohammed, would be unlawful; and what was unlawful would be lawful. Between the religious teachings of Numa and of Moses, there is the same difference as between those of Jesus and of Mohammed; and wherever the laws of Numa conflicted with the laws of Moses the former are now followed; so that a modern Christian lives without the least inconvenience and without guilt according to the laws of Numa, whereas if he lived according to the laws of Moses, he would be often inconvenienced and might even be guilty of crime.[1]

272. This was not always so. In the long period of Christian decay, which began with the religious steriliza-

[1] This is no longer true in the apostate states of Russia, America, and Canada, which have followed Buddhists and Moslems in making wine taboo. But it was true when the manuscript was written, has always been true of rising civilizations, and is still true of most Christian states. With this explanatory foot-note, therefore, I have concluded to leave the text unchanged.

tion of the pious in the fourth century, the general aspect of Eastern Christendom was of an Asiatic civilization. The religious teachings of Numa and of Jesus were both repudiated, and the Asiatic standards of Mosaic civilization were adopted as the governing principle of state and Church. The Byzantine empire copied the Hebrew monarchy, as portrayed in the Books of Kings and Chronicles from Solomon to Josiah. It emulated the oriental splendor of Solomon, and repeated the spy government and heresy hunting of Josiah. Church, state, and subjects, priests, police and people, all looked up or bowed down to Asiatic standards of prohibitions, ceremonies, visible worship of visible things, the extinction of the spirit and the exaltation of worldly power and punishment.

In Western Europe, the combination of Church and state, uniting the religious prohibitions of one with the secular power of the other, from which the Eastern empire always suffered, was temporarily smashed by barbarian invasions. There were many centuries during which Christianity was truly spiritual, wielding spiritual weapons without temporal power, often plundered or defied by secular rulers. Religious freedom, diversity, absence of prohibitions, as taught by Numa and Jesus were improving the rude Western converts to Christianity, although they knew not that these beneficent factors were at work in their behalf. Then there followed a period when Church and state united in the West as in the East. In many centuries of intellectual debasement, the Church had acquired an almost Asiatic list of prohibited things, an Asiatic love of visible things. In the settled governments that began the sixteenth century, Church and state united in a mighty effort to enforce these prohibitions by temporal spies and punishments, to preserve forms and ceremonies, ecclesiastical polity, revenues and hierarchy, visible worship of visible things, the world enthroned in religion's name. This would have been in the West the same repudiation of Numa and Jesus which had just destroyed the empire of the East.

Providentially, a great schism, originating and spreading in the last group of Christian converts, broke upon this Asiatic ideal, and forced it back from a great part of Northern and Western Europe. In Protestant Churches, the religion of Numa and Jesus lived again. An invisible God was worshipped and images were abhorred; the religious sterilization of the pious and chaste was execrated; church lands were repossessed and restored to private property held in severalty; monogamous marriage, already a sacrament (at last) in the ancient Church, received a new sanctity as religious fruitfulness was preferred to sterility; and, finally, spiritual freedom, diversity, and the absence of prohibitions were again a part of Christian teaching. Lenten observance, the prohibition of meat on Friday and Saturday, of the marriage of priests, the fasts and feasts, Saints and Saints' days, processions, intercessions, dead tongues, *ora pro nobis*, amulets, images and image worship, shrines, relics, hair-shirts, tonsures, gestures, cloisters and hermits, mysteries, miracles and miracle-workers, all the incantations, talismans, and taboo which had encrusted the Mediæval Church were brushed aside, hooted, abandoned and despised by the Protestant sects as they would have been by Numa and Jesus. Life and worship in a Protestant land became much what it had been in early Rome while the purity of Numa's teaching was preserved; or later in the first three centuries of Jesus's spiritual leadership.

273. The evidence afforded by the history of these three periods, when the teachings of Numa and Jesus were followed and revered, compared with the contrasting evidence, afforded by the history of those periods when Numa and Jesus were repudiated, fully justifies a belief in the scientific correctness of their religion. Augment the spirit of mankind; exalt spiritual rule; avoid priestly rule, and religious prohibitions.[1] These are the essentials wherein Numa and Jesus differ from Asiatic religions and religious practices.

[1] "Therefore take no thought, saying, what shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?

They testify to the intellectual ascendancy of those who taught them, and they promote and demand an augmented intellect in those who believe them. They mark the triumph of intellect over emotion. The prohibitions of Asiatic religions are simply expressions of the feelings aroused by mortal conduct and the adoption of an emotional standard of right and wrong. The religious teacher sees with carnal eyes only the carnal acts of carnal man. He rules and instructs the individual, telling mortals what is lawful, and what is unlawful. Those who teach individual conduct, deal with emotions not with intellect.

Numa and Jesus taught groups. They saw with spiritual eyes the spiritual covenant that binds a human group, which spiritual perfection makes immortal. Such a group is of three dimensions including its ancestors and its posterity and is ruled by eternal factors discernible only by intellect. The feelings, useful for the guidance of mortals toward each other, must be discarded and only intellect invoked for the safe-conduct of the group. Their religions are mathematically correct; they are scientifically adapted to the improvement of the group, and, as often as they have been tried, they have improved it. As often as they have been abandoned and other means have been tried, the group has declined. The evidence of history warrants the conclusion that Numa and Jesus applied their intellects to a mathematical problem, and reached a correct result with mathematical precision.

"But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." *Sermon on the Mount.*

This also was the practice of the early Romans as taught by Numa.

CHAPTER XVIII

FORTUITOUS CIVILIZATION

274. It is a common saying that this is a tough old world; but no one can point to the existence of a tough old civilization. To the contrary, all civilizations seem alike short-lived, unable to endure, lacking an intelligent guide to self-preservation, afflicted with diseases generated within themselves, declining more quickly than they rose, and perishing with equal certainty from like causes. History presents two contemporaneous records which parallel each other for some thousands of years. The one record, of the world at large, shows a continuous and persistent rise of civilization here or there, somewhere on the globe, as though man's intellectual rise were predestined, decreed, and enforced by an intellect greater than his. The other record is written of each separate civilization, and it repeats its inevitable and invariable decline, disaster, death and decay. Each is shown rising from poverty and darkness, none from wealth and enlightenment. The rise seems always to have been fortuitous, always to have begun with people who were rude and ignorant, and to have ended when they have become polished and sophisticated. Their gains instead of being consciously employed for the acquisition of further gains, and the attainment of greater heights, are not even kept or maintained intact, but are thrown away, and the posterity of the most brilliant civilizations are plunged back into the same abyss of barbarism over which their own enlightened and immediate ancestors apparently had triumphed. It is a consistent and terrible record that

exhibits out of so many civilizations not one that was conscious and not one that could endure.

It is evident that events occurring to all civilized groups on an area as large as the world, during a period as long as recorded history, are not the result of mere chance. All these groups, in all this area, and during all this time, have been subject to the laws of numbers; and mathematical law has decreed alike the persistent succession of all civilization's rise and the inevitable disaster of each separate civilization's fall. While the rise of each national civilization has seemed the result of chance, yet the rise of a world civilization has been certain and in accordance with mathematical law, and the factors which made it certain may be known.

275. If the odds are a thousand to one against an event, and it has ten thousand opportunities to happen, the odds become ten to one that it will happen. A million opportunities change the odds from a thousand to one against, to a thousand to one for it. And an infinite number of opportunities make it certain to happen. This simple mathematical truth illustrates the certainty of civilization's rise in the long time and large area of a populous and diverse world. Civilization will rise if the nervous organization is continuously augmented for a succession of generations. The compulsory maternity of cold women augments the nervous organization of posterity. Hence, it was only necessary that among the innumerable diverse groups of the land world there should occur a group whose domestic customs were suitable to the compulsory maternity of cold women; and that these customs should continue through as many generations as were necessary to augment the nervous organization of their posterity. Marriage was a prime factor, since unceremonial and voluntary unions, or promiscuity, simply multiply the numbers of the most prolific and willing mothers. Monogamy was superior to polygamy, since the latter affords to cold women an easy escape from unwelcome sexual tasks. Religious, ceremonial, and indissoluble monogamy was still better, since it gave divine

sanction to the marriage state and continued the fecundity of the monogamous wife for the whole of her child-bearing period. Monogamous marriage which was religious, ceremonial, and indissoluble, was still more effective when it was made by men, transferred the bride from her father to her husband, her consent and obedience being taken for granted, and she herself the subject matter of the transaction rather than a party to it. It was most effective of all when it effected a transfer of property or services, became a muniment of title to land, conferred indefeasible rights on husband and wife, and transmitted these rights by an exclusive heirship to their posterity. With this highest form of marriage, the unfavorable selection of ardent women for motherhood, and of cold ones for sterility, ceased to exercise its degrading influence on the character of posterity. Motherhood instead of being limited only to those women who sought it from desire, was extended to those who accepted it by dedication, obeyed a will other than their own, and were made prolific by obedience rather than by desire. Thus, there was added to their posterity a new strain, unknown to animals, to primitive man and to savages, but peculiar to civilization, and exalting the spiritual stature of posterity, so that, if continued through enough generations, it must attain civilization.

Among the diverse groups which inhabited the Eurasian continent for five thousand years, there were many where purely voluntary mating was not universal, and marriage in some of its earliest forms had begun to prevail. Hence, it was only necessary that the custom of marriage should proceed, by the steps already related, toward a religious and indissoluble monogamous union of husband and wife, creating and transferring property rights, to become an institution which changed an unfavorable into a favorable selection of mothers. In the multitude of diverse groups on this vast area during this long period of time, the opportunities for this change to occur exceeded the odds against it and accordingly the rise of civilization in some part of this area

and in one or more of its diverse groups became in time certain. Time did not change the odds against it but multiplied the opportunities for it to happen.

276. Civilization rose, therefore, in accordance with mathematical law. Even where marriage was polygamous, it offered some advantages in the selection of mothers and these advantages, in a group of pioneers, were considerable. Where men are exceptionally lusty and vigorous as among the Tartar chiefs to whom the tribute of Chinese maidens was annually paid, or among the Arabian conquerors of the first century after Mohammed, polygamy does not effectually forbid the impressment of cold women for maternity, nor prevent the consequent augmentation of the nervous organization of posterity. After the first generations of conquering pioneers have passed, inherited polygamy does have this effect, the augmentation of posterity's nervous organization ceases, the rise of civilization stops, and the group begins to decline. Polygamous civilizations never reach the height or show the vitality of monogamous civilizations; so that the higher civilizations are found, as would be expected, among the monogamous groups and monogamous religions of the Eurasian continent. These were the Greeks, the Romans, and all those white tribes of Northern Europe beyond the Roman frontier, which shared the same custom of monogamous marriage and may be designated collectively as Teutons. In each of these groups the monogamous marriage customs of freemen became by the steps already described, an effective institution for the favorable selection of mothers, and the consequent augmentation of the nervous organization of their posterity. Marriage among the Homeric chiefs, the Athenian aristocracy, the Roman patriciate, the Christian converts of the first three centuries, the religious bourgeois of Protestant countries and the irreligious bourgeois of Catholic countries during the last three centuries, became, at some point in the history of each, an identical institution, as easily recognized in the pages of Homer, Herodotus, Plutarch and

Tacitus, as in the innumerable memoirs of eighteenth century France and England. Among all these widely separated people of different nations and different speech over this extensive area, and during all this period of time, this identity of monogamous marriage as an indissoluble religious sacrament, consecrating a chaste virgin to maternity will be found invariably creating augmented nervous organizations, always preceding the attainment of a high civilization, and disappearing from each group when its civilization is about to fall. The record of experiments so extensive, repeated over a time so long, accomplishing the same result among so many diverse groups, warrants a judgment that this is the true cause of civilization's rise.

277. The institution of "private property," *i.e.*, property held in separate ownership by a multitude of mortals instead of the common ownership of clan, tribe, state, church or other demortal invariably and necessarily accompanies this highest form of marriage. Where religious sanction is given to the creation of exclusive and indefeasible rights for both parents, united in indissoluble monogamous marriage, with a transfer of property, posterity inherits from all its male and female progenitors a strong sense of the sanctity of exclusive rights. The psychology of monogamy demands equally the popular acknowledgment, religious approval and state protection of exclusive rights of ownership, as of exclusive rights of marriage. So there is secured to the group the huge advantage, indispensable to the growth of wealth, of mortal ownership, or *private* property, continuously changing hands, passing from those who use it ill, to become fruitful and multiply in the hands of those who use it well. Private property rewards augmented nervous organizations, and enriches their posterity with the result of the best out of a multitude of efforts.

With private property and the resulting wealth, there is necessarily created a surplus or profit, phenomena that invariably accompany rising civilizations, are found only in groups which produce augmented nervous organizations,

and disappear when these disappear. The simple and familiar process of fermentation will convert into drink some part of the surplus food which would otherwise perish, so that the association of wine with rising civilizations antedates written history. Every step of mankind's change from nomadic to domestic, from barbaric to civilized life, is necessarily and invariably a step toward the conditions indispensable for the making of drink, and augmented nervous organizations are never found without it. It stimulates intellectual activity, redeems the group from famine and plague, gives it health, strength and abundance, and national welfare is accurately indexed by the social extension of its use. Oriental religions and taxation limited it to the wealthy few, but the religions of Numa and Jesus extended it to the multitude, and Western civilizations reached the peak of their advance over Eastern, when drinking became the common habit of Roman and Christian poor.

Augmented nervous organizations effect social and national changes which may be likewise foreseen and described with mathematical precision. The group where they appear ceases to be fungible. Its mortal units, physically similar become psychically dissimilar, and their differentiation increases as long as the augmentation continues. Posterity differs from its ancestors, maturity differs from youth, the sexes differ from each other, the smaller and less prolific group of augmented nervous organizations differs from the larger and more prolific group of lower nervous organizations, and the augmented nervous organizations themselves differ from each other. To allow of this diversity, taboo enforced by spies must be abolished, and freedom must be established, so that mortals do not punish differences in their fellow mortals, nor groups punish differing groups. Diversity is necessary to progress. The letter killeth and the spirit giveth life. So rising civilizations must have invisible spiritual guidance ruling only by spiritual commands and incapable of inflicting worldly and carnal punishments. All rising civilizations

have discovered and acknowledged the authority of an invisible power greater than the things of this world, requiring humble but not servile obedience, and blessing those who faithfully keep its commandments. The rebellion of augmented nervous organizations against servile or visible rule, and their eager and humble obedience to invisible rule, is repeated over and over again in history's pages. Freedom, diversity, humility, instead of spies, uniformity and servility, are sure signs of a rising group.

278. Private property, wealth, drink, temptation, freedom, diversity, and invisible rule are necessarily followed by social order. The national differentiation tends to group itself, so that augmented nervous organizations who enjoy most of these advantages and thrive best under them, tend to cohere and form an aristocracy. It is mathematically certain that the numbers of this group must always be fewer than the more prolific groups of lower nervous organizations, and that they will become less prolific as their nervous organizations are augmented. An aristocracy, therefore, cannot continue to augment the nervous organization of its own posterity without becoming so unfertile that its posterity disappears. But this does not prevent the maintenance of social order in rising civilizations. As the marriage customs of the aristocracy are gradually imitated by the more numerous and prolific social orders immediately below them, these begin to furnish augmented nervous organizations in their turn and from them the failing numbers of the aristocracy are perpetually recruited, so that although its own most ancient stirpes are always perishing the aristocratic class remains and its numbers increase. It is this social class thus recruited which forms the national head in rising civilizations, assumes national leadership, direction and command. It is unknown except in monogamous religions, and in these it is the most religious and its monogamous marriage the most strict. In polygamous religions, the spiritual ascendancy of the aristocracy quickly surrenders to the debasing

influence of inherited polygamy, and the oriental despotism of a single ruler, usually an alien conqueror, is the necessary result. The Roman patriciate and the English gentry, both typical examples of spiritual aristocracies, maintained their long leadership while they practiced the highest form of indissoluble religious monogamy with greater strictness than any class of their social inferiors. National property, along with national leadership, tends also to come always into the hands of the aristocratic few by whom it is best preserved. The same strict marriage customs which augmented their nervous organizations give them a keen sense of property rights, and the posterity which inherits the one inherits the other. Property in their hands is in a true sense "national" property; always in the mortal possession of the dying units of an expiring strain and a disappearing group—by whom it must be left to the augmented nervous organizations of newer stirpes which in future generations will recruit their class and supplant their posterity.

279. To their social and political leadership and their conservation of the national wealth, these monogamous aristocracies add the peculiar virtues engendered by the practice of religious indissoluble monogamous marriage. More than any other groups known to history they have a high sense of personal and property rights, not only for themselves but for others. Freedom is never in safer hands. It is indispensable to them, as it is to all augmented nervous organizations. But they have exhibited, besides, a love of freedom in the abstract, which is extremely rare and appears in history only for brief periods and in small groups. Many generations of a favorable selection of mothers are necessary to exalt the spiritual stature of posterity so that it can understand abstractions, love, honor, and obey abstract principles, and invisible things. Long before this generation is reached there has been some augmentation of the nervous organization, resulting in aristocratic leadership, wealth, power, and the grasp of freedom and privileges over common men. As a general rule this gets no further, and a

selfish and grasping aristocracy digs its own grave. It surrenders either to one of its own number who becomes its king, to the common people who overwhelm it, or to an alien invader who conquers it. The two aristocracies that rose to the greatest heights of power and wealth, and maintained their leadership for the longest time, were the two that, in respect to their obedience to the religious, indissoluble, monogamous marriage taught by Numa and Jesus, excelled for the longest time all other aristocracies, and excelled likewise the lower classes of their own countrymen. Each was distinguished by a firm grip on its own liberties, privileges, power and wealth; but each was likewise distinguished by the extent to which it bestowed upon all its countrymen the same rights which it enjoyed. Its members were content with leadership and with order; but neither of these monogamous aristocracies ruled, oppressed, taxed or governed the commons in the sense that Asiatics would attach to these words. They preserved the peace and they enforced contracts; but they laid down no uniform rules of thought, speech, diet, conduct or worship, employed no army of spies to pry into men's opinions, houses, or domestic lives, and under their leadership in Italy and England the liberties of freemen, instead of being constricted or extinguished, were continuously enlarged, so that a Roman or English citizen at the end of two centuries of aristocratic power enjoyed greater liberty than at its beginning. The rights of person and property which receive their best and briefest expression in the single word "freedom" received from the long leadership of the Roman patriciate and the English "governing class" so vast a contribution that if it could be wholly excluded from history little of these ideas or principles would be left. An intelligent reader, confined to the histories of polygamous countries, or to the Christian empire ruled from Constantinople, would find in all these numerous populations, covering a vast extent of the world's area, during centuries of time, never a consistent principle, and hardly ever a hint, of those popular rights of freedom

which are so common as not even to excite wonder in the histories of Rome and England.

280. The organic structure of vertebrates, having a head and body performing specialized functions for the common good, is superior to the organic structure of a sponge where all parts are alike and perform the same functions. In the social structure of groups, as well as in the corporeal structure of animals, the vertebrate form of political organization is likewise superior and is always found in rising civilizations. And this vertebrate structure must be aristocratic, not despotic. Because the nation is a group and demortal, its true head can never be a mortal, since the defect of mortality causes a continuous change and substitution of rulers, unrelated to changes in the nation at large. Groups which are not producing augmented nervous organizations will be found always with a political structure resembling that of a sponge, and this is still true even though they may be subject (as they usually are) to the despotic will of a mortal tyrant, ruler or king. Groups which continue to produce augmented nervous organizations throw off this rule, and substitute for it a true national head, i.e. an aristocratic group of fewer numbers, but of higher nervous organization than the remainder of the body politic. This vertebrate political structure, always found in rising civilizations, disappears as they decline. The value of such leadership to the group at large cannot be overstated. All rising groups must begin small, rude, ignorant, and weak. To increase their numbers, wealth and power, they must become centrifugal, conquer neighboring and distant lands, send out colonies, enlarge the area of tillage per capita of population, resist invasion, oppose and subdue hostile groups. Rising civilizations must expand, and all these are necessary and incident to expansion. Without the guidance of augmented nervous organizations, born to their own number, such expansion cannot take place. The group remains impotent and subject to conquest by rival groups which

produce augmented nervous organizations. Nor will mortal leadership suffice. The military genius of a brilliant general may win victories; but expansion is a group triumph, extending over generations, enlarging, settling and consolidating the group domain. It is not accomplished in one generation or by one genius but is peculiarly the achievement of the group itself. It requires and implies a vertebrate political structure, continuously guided by a small and durable head of augmented nervous organizations, replenished and maintained for generations by fresh recruits from the body politic below, constituting an aristocratic class of superior brains and spiritual stature, giving to the group at large the benefits of superior leadership and direction. The larger group of lower nervous organizations will furnish the soldiers that fight foot to foot; the smaller group will furnish the generals and commanders who lead them to victory. National expansion, the protracted and successful effort of centuries, can be accomplished only so long as both groups are maintained and combined in their correct order.

National expansion promotes the health, growth and improvement of the national body—the common people as distinguished from its aristocratic head. As the condition of civilization's rise is the continuous production of augmented nervous organizations, and as these tend to acquire and possess the greater part of the national wealth, it is difficult, within fixed boundaries, for the larger and prolific group of lower nervous organizations to enhance their possessions in proportion to the increase of their numbers. With the expansion of the national boundaries, this difficulty vanishes. The ancient wealth, acquired and transmitted within the ancient boundaries, may remain still in the hands of the small and unfertile group of the ancient aristocracy—it will be shared by the new stirpes of higher nervous organizations by whom this group is continuously recruited—but the new domains acquired by national expansion are peculiarly the possession of the common people.

It is the prolific groups of lower nervous organizations, whose numbers continually press hardly on the means of subsistence, and who overcrowd the nation's ancient limits, that press outward and settle the new lands, find new fortunes on conquered territory, and make a new group capable of raising a new aristocracy of its own. It is the ancient virtues of an old and perhaps decaying aristocracy that enable them to do this. The superior leadership of a by-gone generation enabled their own poor ancestors to conquer lands where their descendants now settle, thrive, and grow rich. Their enlarged possessions bestow upon them wealth, drink, temptation and freedom which exalts their spiritual stature, creates new and increased numbers of augmented nervous organizations, raises them to an equality with the ancient virtues of the old aristocracy, still confined to the old limits, and when that aristocracy is decayed, (as it must) makes them question, perhaps despise, the same vertebrate political structure from which all these benefits were derived.

281. National civilization continues to rise only as long as the nation continues to renew and replenish its national "head," i.e. an aristocracy of augmented nervous organizations capable of giving superior leadership and direction to the national body. Such an aristocracy can never be of long aristocratic descent; since the ancient aristocratic stirpes must be always declining. They cannot maintain their augmented nervous organizations and their fecundity together, so that either intellect or numbers must perish, or both. It is mathematically certain that an ancient aristocracy is a decaying aristocracy. The aristocratic class, however, ought not to suffer decay, but ought to increase and improve, continuously replenished from below. When this process stops the national head disappears; the national political organization no longer resembles the structure of vertebrates but becomes alike in all its parts like a sponge; the nation itself becomes homogeneous; its leadership and direction are determined

by visible and numerical instead of spiritual and intellectual standards; and it is ruled accordingly by the most prolific. At this point, civilization ceases to rise. At best it remains stationary and stagnant; and, under the impact of hostile groups, having a vertebrate organization, (though they may be barbarian) it may be utterly crushed.

The decline of a homogeneous nation is as mathematically certain as the decay of an ancient aristocracy. Having no real head, it is ruled by weight of numbers and the most numerous group is necessarily the most prolific, and therefore contains the lowest nervous organizations. In fact, it is ruled not by intellect, but by emotion, and however each mortal of the group may rely upon his feelings as a guide to his conduct, intellect is necessary for the safe guidance of the group itself. The group is subject to eternal factors which only intellect discovers. Emotion is not a possible or admissible mental process in the search for mathematical truth. Yet, upon mathematical truth, the whole future of the group depends. The love of freedom may be noted as an exception, since by legalizing diversity it contributes to the rise of augmented nervous organizations, promotes the growth of a vertebrate political structure and thus secures for the group the advantages of mathematical law. But the love of freedom has always to contend with the love for uniformity and visible things; and, inasmuch as the latter are universally worshipped by low nervous organizations, whilst only a minority of augmented nervous organizations is capable of loving freedom and invisible things, these must always wage a losing contest in a homogeneous nation. A visible and carnal uniformity is the object of every plebiscite. Majorities abhor diversity. Mankind has never enjoyed very much political freedom nor enjoyed that freedom very long. But for all that it has had it is indebted to aristocratic minorities of augmented nervous organizations.

282. The truth that civilization's rise has always been under a vertebrate political organization, having at its head

a small aristocratic group continuously recruited from its body and giving freedom and diversity to the whole; and that its fall begins when this group disappears, and the nation becomes homogeneous and is ruled by a plebiscite, has been obscured by historians, but may be found, nevertheless, in every ancient civilization.

In Israel, this period of rise is recounted in the books of Judges and Samuel. It ended when Israel became homogeneous, forsook the Lord and (by a plebiscite) demanded a king, and the house of David was founded by a shepherd lad. In two generations more, Israel had all the vices of an Asiatic despotism and its civilization began to decline.

In Greece, the same period was reached when Anacharsis said that the sages discuss but the ignorant decide (a plebiscite again), and Xenophon declared that, in Athens, "everywhere greater consideration is shown to the base, to poor people and to common folk, than to persons of good quality" (*Polity of the Athenians*).[1] From that time Greek civilization declined.

In Rome, the period when the ancient aristocracy had disappeared, and the new aristocracy of the provinces had not yet been created, was the end of the second century B.C. Rome was ruled for a generation by plebiscites, and all aspiring politicians bid against each other for the rabble's votes[2] (a century earlier this had been true of Carthage

[1] Xenophon praises the perfect equality of Sparta under the laws of Lycurgus; and likewise praises the democracy of Athens which gave to *hoi polloi* a seat and a vote in Council. In both cases, it is evident that the more prolific group of low nervous organization derived by their superior fecundity an enormous advantage over the minority of augmented nervous organizations. Shortly after Xenophon wrote, both Sparta and Athens suffered a speedy and complete decline from which they never afterward recovered.

[2] "Two wild and insolent politicians, Saturninus and Glaucia, were the leading popular agitators of the day. With Marius they formed the popular government of 100 B.C. a government in which the conqueror of the Cimbri, practically became the instrument of the two demagogues." (Ferrero, *Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I, Chap. IV.)

while Rome was then aristocratic). A generation ruled by the most prolific was followed by the civil wars and the Republic's death.

Following the proscriptions, massacres, and confiscations, order was restored under the empire; and Roman civilization rose again when there was a new differentiation and a new head created from the Roman colonists and provincials. Under the Antonines Roman society became again homogeneous, followed by the expected disasters in the third century. In the meantime an enormous new proletariat of alien birth had been imported into Italy and its conversion to Christianity had begun. Under the teachings of Jesus this differentiated, and there was created a new Christian aristocracy, the fourth and last of Roman history. After Christian rule introduced the sterilization of the pious all questions were settled by numerical standards, diversity became a punishable offense, the empire became homogeneous, and civilization perished.

It is because the period of rule by the most prolific is usually short compared to the long despotism that always and necessarily succeeds it, that so little attention has been given to it by historians. Plebiscites must always destroy civilizations, since they are mathematically incompatible with the conditions by which civilizations can rise or endure. But their effect was quicker in ancient times than now. Where domestic customs are unadapted to augment the nervous organization of posterity (as in the inherited polygamy of Israel or Islam, or the religious sterilization of Constantinople) there is no freedom-loving group and the foregone result of a plebiscite is always to demand a king or a visible and mortal ruler. Common people of such groups never change from despotism to freedom but always from freedom to despotism. This is the effect likewise of inherited slavery. Where the domestic customs of freemen are adapted to augment the nervous organization of posterity, as in Athens and Rome, the love of freedom grows up in a minority of the ablest citizens; despotism is overthrown

and free government established. But this, too, perishes when augmented nervous organizations are no longer produced, the group becomes homogeneous and the most prolific rule. The culmination of civilization's rise and the beginning of its decline may be marked at this point.

283. Thus, every step in the fortuitous rise of civilization is computable with mathematical precision. It begins with the gradual and slow production of augmented nervous organizations, which is mathematically certain in the land world because the opportunities for adopting the correct method of producing them are greater than the odds against adopting such a method. Because the odds against it were fixed, and the opportunities in its favor increased with the passage of time, civilization's rise became only a question of time, and mathematically certain when sufficient time was given. The perpetual repetition of a favorable selection of mothers, through a sufficient number of generations, was the sole necessary and proximate cause of civilization's rise. From it, there followed, with mathematical certainty, and in regular succession, all the results which, united and associated, are its inseparable accompaniments. The aspect of a higher intelligence consciously directing man's foot-steps upward from barbarism to civilization, is in fact an accurate representation of the actual rule of mathematical law. There is no incident or phase of civilization, ancient or modern, that may not be deduced with mathematical accuracy from like conditions, that has not repeated itself with mathematical exactness, and that will not continue to repeat itself in the future as in the past.

All that is true of civilization's rise is equally true of its fall; and the decline of each separate national civilization may be computed by mathematical law with the same exactness, bringing the same factors into the reckoning, and showing the same reversal when these factors are reversed.

The groups in which civilization does not rise at all remain always nearly fungible. There is no aristocracy, no

national head, no differentiation which creates a minority of augmented nervous organizations giving superior leadership and direction to the common advantage of the whole. The intellect does not expand, the spiritual stature does not rise, knowledge and enlightenment do not increase with succeeding generations, and posterity remains as debased and ignorant as its ancestors. There is hardly any spiritual difference between youth and maturity, between the sexes, or between individuals of the same age and sex. All apparent differences are only oscillations near a common centre of unchanging and uniform mentality from which there is no continuous departure.

284. The rise of civilization begins with differentiation, but all civilized self-governing groups in which no new proletariat is introduced must eventually become homogeneous. This is a result which follows with mathematical certainty from the fact that augmented nervous organizations are less prolific than lower nervous organizations. No matter what difference there may be at the start—as great as between the patricians and plebeians of early Rome where even inter-marriage was forbidden—the aristocracy of augmented nervous organizations is always a diminishing minority, and as long as it continues to maintain its superior spiritual stature by domestic customs adapted to the compulsory maternity of cold women, its numbers must gradually decline and eventually it must disappear. Even as a minority the aristocratic class can be maintained only by recruits continuously drawn from the prolific plebeian class below. But this constant filtration from a larger body into a smaller eventually changes the character of the smaller body until it becomes similar to the larger in all respects. Aristocracy and democracy are descended from the same strains, and in everything except their nervous organizations they are the same. All their visible and audible characteristics of color, stature, speech, diet, dress, deportment, and public worship are drawn from a like source and have become alike. A true separation of the groups is no longer

possible, and a real separation of the groups is no longer visible. Men begin to believe the evidence of their own eyes and ears which tell them that aristocracy and democracy are both alike.

An amalgamation that is thus begun and universally believed is soon accomplished. The marriage customs of both groups are soon as much alike as their color, speech, and religion. In the period of rising civilization, while the larger group is gaining with the smaller, the democracy will follow the stricter marriage customs of the augmented nervous organizations at their head. But, as these customs augment the nervous organization and reduce the fecundity of those that practice them, they cannot be carried far, throughout all the nation, without reducing the national population. The compulsory maternity of cold women never becomes a national habit. Their numbers must be few in the numerous group, and their strain always competes with the more prolific strains of their ardent and willing sisters. A plebeian group where marriage is ceremonial and monogamous, and universally precedes cohabitation, has gone very far indeed. Strict marriage customs throughout all the social orders of the nation are very rarely seen in history, then only for a few generations, and have marked only the most advanced states of Western civilization, ancient and modern.

285. As the more prolific group of lower nervous organizations gradually improves, through following the stricter customs of ceremonial and monogamous marriage, the smaller group of augmented nervous organizations gradually abandons them. At this stage in civilization's rise, the aristocratic minority is descended chiefly from the larger group. Its women, as well as its men, are of augmented nervous organizations, and, where this is combined with sexual coldness, their repugnance for the ancient marriage customs, which would have made them fruitful through obedience instead of desire, is steadily increased. They become sufficiently numerous proportionately to form a

strong group capable of influencing public opinion, and shaping the beliefs of posterity. The avoidance of marriage, especially of obedient marriage or of dedication to marriage, is their common aim. Their augmented nervous organizations give them far stronger feelings than their genetrices of a few generations before, and obedient marriage to a husband not selected by themselves rouses an effective opposition that their grandmothers did not show. They see with longing eyes the courtship and selection allowed to their humbler sisters of inferior social rank, but in all visible things apparently like themselves, and they strive successfully for a change in the ancient marriage customs which will give the same privileges to them. In a generation or so the change takes place. The marriage customs of democracy have risen toward those of aristocracy, and the marriage customs of aristocracy have fallen toward those of democracy. Each group plays leader to the other. In earlier generations, the smaller group had stricter marriage customs which the larger group could imitate. Now these are abandoned, the smaller group follows the looser marriage customs of the larger, and a new generation sees no example of strict marriage customs in any social class.

When this point in monogamous civilizations is reached, the nation has become wholly homogeneous. Nothing but money and numbers divides its social classes. Augmented nervous organizations are still born by chance, but are not consciously bred in a distinctive class, appear only as scattered individuals, not as a group capable of reproducing itself, and disappear without fertilizing posterity. The exclusion of obedience as a permissible factor in the fruitfulness of its women becomes accepted as a national virtue, and women refuse to enter upon a marriage of dedication, to look upon marriage as a duty, or motherhood as a surrender of self to the Divine Will. Children are no longer begotten by a holy spirit, but only through mutual desires; and marriage that does not yield carnal gratification to both husband and wife is soon sundered. The habit of divorce accordingly

follows the habit of courtship, each intended to make her fruitfulness a question to be decided by the woman herself in accordance with her own desires, and thus to afford to all but the willing and prolific an easy escape from unwelcome maternity. Monogamous nations which have reached this period of their history, have attained by the steps already related a very high civilization. They now substitute for that selection of mothers which is characteristic of religious, monogamous and indissoluble marriage the selection of mothers which always appertains to polygamy. Their civilization becomes polygamous in its characteristics. It can no longer rise and it must fall.

286. Civilization can rise in both polygamous and monogamous groups; but, in the former, its rise is limited to the era of pioneers. Polygamous groups, like Israel in the land of Canaan or like the Moslems in the first century after Mohammed, may find even their polygamous marriage superior to the mating customs of decadent nations whom they conquer, and whose lands and women they take. In the pioneering period, the nervous organization of posterity will be augmented notwithstanding polygamous marriage customs. When pioneering ceases, when their gains are consolidated, and wealth is accumulated and inherited, the practice of polygamy forbids further rise. Up to this point the history of polygamous and monogamous groups is not very different. But inherited polygamy is fatal to civilization whilst inherited monogamy is not; hence the monogamous groups may carry their civilization far beyond the era of pioneering; so that polygamous and monogamous civilizations differ in respect that the latter last longer and attain greater heights.

When the turn comes and decline begins, the steps of their decline are about alike. Declining civilizations which owed their rise to monogamy, may, in their decline, still display a spurious counterfeit of the marriage customs which caused their rise. They count marriage still as the ceremonial union of one man with one woman; but it is not religious,

it is not indissoluble, and it is not the dedication of a chaste virgin to holy fruitfulness. It is no longer an ordinance of God, but a civil contract entered into by the mutual desires and consent of the contracting parties, broken by their mutual or separate wills, without consecration, almost without ceremony. On these terms, declining civilizations gain a selection of mothers in so-called "monogamous" countries, identical with the selection of mothers in polygamous countries. Both tread the same downward paths in the same way, exhibit the same changes and show the same speed.

287. The first thing that heralds their decline is the change in women. Isaiah, speaking with prophetic voice, told Israel that because women ruled over them, and the daughters of Zion are haughty, "thy men shall fall by the sword, and thy mighty in the war." In the social life of his time, he seized upon the eternal not the temporal factors, computed their effect with mathematical accuracy, and the result accorded exactly with his prophecy. The same result may be seen, following with equal certainty, in the monogamous civilizations of Athens and Rome. Women of augmented nervous organization became rebellious, independent, and proud, refused the rule of fathers and husbands, made and unmade their own marriages, accepted or rejected maternity according to their own desires, subtracted at will their own virtues from posterity. The same change is discernible between women of the Italian bourgeois at the beginning of the Renaissance and at its end. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were humble and obedient, were given in marriage by paternal command, and made fruitful by their husbands' rule. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all this was changed, women of augmented nervous organization formed clubs and academies, wifely obedience was vulgar and unfashionable, women demanded an equal education, and asserted equal rights and privileges, and an equal independence with men. The decline of Italian genius and the

destruction of Italian liberty followed, exactly as from a like cause, Athenian genius and liberty had declined twenty centuries earlier. In France and Spain, the same changes may be discerned; but, in France, it occurred only among the women of the nobility of the *ancien régime*, and it was this class that was overthrown. In Spain, it extended throughout the bourgeois; so that Cervantes's Comedy of the Divorce Court shows divorces applied for and obtained by women of the middle classes. In France, accordingly, the decline extended only to the nobility, in Spain to the nation at large. During the same period, the virtues of humility, obedience, self-sacrifice displayed by the women of England, in contrast to those of the Continent, astonished Stendhal and Taine, and genius rose in England as it declined in the Continental groups.

Thus Isaiah's prophecy was fulfilled, not only by Israel, but by each succeeding group. The change in posterity followed the change in the selection of mothers. Civilization advanced or declined in accordance with the change in the character of women. Mathematical law ruled alike the polygamous group of Israel observed by Isaiah, the monogamous group of Athens in the time of Demosthenes, of Romans in the age of Augustus, of the decadent aristocracy of France, and of the declining bourgeois of Italy and Spain. The rebellion and independence of women gave to all these monogamous groups a selection of mothers as adverse as in polygamy. In the second century of the Christian era, an Isaiah, who observed the difference between pagan and Christian women, would have prophesied correctly that Christians would soon triumph over pagans and seize the empire. Or if he had noticed the contrast drawn by Tacitus between the women of civilized Rome and of barbarian Germany he would have prophesied that Rome would not conquer Germany, but that Germany would conquer Rome. Still later, when he saw the Christian empire swept by the doctrine and practice of the religious sterilization of chaste and pious women, he would

have expected and prophesied its downfall. The rule is universal and eternal, and, given the same factors, mathematical law always brings out the same results.

288. The decline of civilizations, both polygamous and monogamous, heralded by the change in women and caused by an adverse selection of mothers, takes always the same course and is characterized by the same incidents, which furnish the same evidence of national decay. The nation has become homogeneous, the marriage customs of all classes are alike, and there is no group whose cold women are made fruitful by obedience and humility rather than by desire. Throughout all the nation the production of augmented nervous organizations ceases; posterity is descended altogether from an identical system of breeding which mates and fructifies only ardent and prolific women of low nervous organization who bear children with smaller heads. Intellect declines and becomes a negligible factor in the national future and so far as the nervous organization still excels that of savages its superiority finds expression only in the emotions, which are somewhat augmented and less governed. With this change in the national character, valor, independence, freedom, humility, disappear, men become impotent, cowardly, servile, incapable of self-government, the patient subjects of an absolute despotism. It is only a question of when and whence the despot shall come. While something remains of their ancient strength and prestige, the despot may be one of their own number, national independence apparently still preserved. But this cannot last forever; and under the impact of a foe more numerous or of higher nervous organization, the nation will be conquered and ruled by new despots of alien blood. This is the commonest event in history. Egypt has been thus ruled for ages. So were Babylon and Israel and Greece. During the Christian era, aliens have conquered and ruled nearly every Christian state that practiced the religious sterilization of chaste and pious women. Sicily, Christian in the fourth century when that doctrine

first debased the Church was so ruled to the nineteenth. The English, who were not Christianized till the end of the seventh century, embraced this doctrine in the eighth and were ruled by foreign kings from the tenth century to the thirteenth. During all the Christian era, the pagan or alien conquests of Christian lands may be traced directly to this cause.

289. A second incident and evidence of national decline is found always in the disappearance of the rights of person and property.[1]

The sense of exclusive and acknowledged rights, on which private property depends, is inherited by the posterity of religious, indissoluble, monogamous marriages. When the character of marriage changes to a civil contract entered into and dissolved at will, the sense of exclusive and acknowledged right is lost by succeeding generations, property rights become impaired, and private ownership, growing weaker with each generation, finally disappears. Vestiges remain between mortals; but no rights can be asserted by mortals against demortals, i.e. against the state or church. Governmental and ecclesiastical institutions, endowed with longer than mortal lives and greater than mortal powers, first curtail then extinguish all mortal rights so that as against them there is nothing which man may call his own—not his freedom, not his property, not his life. All these are holden only at the mercy, grace or will of earthly institutions, exercising earthly powers, but not subject to earthly limitations or to the defect of mortal life. Public necessity, spiritual welfare, the good of the whole, or of the greatest number, are always alleged in justification of their exactions, and in a few generations, no mortal is strong enough to resist. After this period is reached, all rights have been so effectually absorbed by Church and state that only these institutions can assert or defend them

[1] Although essentially the same, I follow the usual custom of dividing them. The division is purely verbal, and essentially meaningless, but the custom is too strong to be disregarded.

against each other. History is filled with their quarrels, but no longer records any effectual resistance by mortals against either.

A third incident and evidence of civilization's fall is the decline of national wealth. Property multiplies and increases in the hands of a multitude of mortals. It is lost by those who use it ill, but it continuously enriches those who use it well. While it is in mortal possession it must continuously change hands, as well from death as from trade and barter, and the nation is continuously enriched by the better out of a multitude of efforts. When mortal rights over property are lost, and mortal ownership changed to the demortal possession of state or Church, the conditions under which property multiplies and increases, are gone. Profit and capital disappear, the people live from hand to mouth, low nervous organizations toiling to secure their own existence and pay the exactions of tax and tithe, do not enrich the treasury but increase the destitution, mortals work only for state or Church, nothing is saved, nothing accumulated or transmitted to posterity, the nation that was once wealthy has become poor.

290. A fourth incident and evidence of civilization's decline is idolatry. It is only augmented nervous organizations that see and worship spiritual and invisible things, bow to spiritual and invisible authority, obey spiritual commands and fear spiritual punishments. To lower nervous organizations, spiritual and invisible things do not exist. They worship and obey only that which they can see, the visible and earthly embodiment of visible power exercising visible authority, commanding visible obedience, and threatening visible and earthly punishment. Without these things, they feel that they are not governed, that no one has authority over them, and that nothing need be feared. So the restrained governments and accusatory criminal procedure of rising civilizations are abandoned, the people forsake the Lord and demand a king, a sign of visible authority exercising visible powers. Freedom, which

means spiritual instead of carnal rule, is first uncomfortable and then impossible. They cannot conceive that they are benefited by it, or that something that they cannot see can possibly do them good. They pray to saints, worship images, make pilgrimages to shrines, and obeisance to relics, seek their future welfare by visible sacrifices to visible things, and their earthly welfare by visible formulas devised and enforced by visible and earthly powers. Nothing that they cannot see merits belief, inspires confidence or commands obedience. All their welfare in this world and the next they expect from visible things.

A fifth incident and evidence of civilization's decline is the disappearance of spiritual revivals. When low nervous organizations set up earthly and visible standards of conduct, enforced by visible powers and earthly punishments, and no longer see spiritual or invisible things, their spiritual revival ends. They have no spiritual life, the spirit is to them a meaningless thing which they cannot see and whose very existence they doubt. The things of this earth they heed and fear, but to be filled with despair over the supposed anger of an unseen spirit, incapable of inflicting earthly punishments, and to rejoice and sing psalms of praise at the feeling of spiritual regeneration and spiritual peace instead of enmity, is something entirely outside their life, and beyond their comprehension. They cannot expect it or understand it or experience it or share it or convey it to their neighbors or their children. They live by the letter that killeth and not by the spirit that giveth life. So they obey the letter of the law, find their salvation in formulas instead of freedom, accept the established doctrines, worship in the established Church, pay visible obedience to visible powers, and their spiritual revival is impossible because in them the spirit is dead.

291. A sixth incident and evidence of civilization's decline is taboo and spy government. Taboo is a well-known incident of savagery and, as an adverse selection of mothers continuously debases the nervous organization of

declining civilizations, they return with accelerating speed to savage standards. The savage ideal is that tribal welfare depends upon uniformity, and unanimous obedience to the tribal taboo. The ideal is fatal to advancement, but because tribes are small and the number of them very great, savage taboo enforces a lethal uniformity over a smaller territory and fewer people and is less fatal than national taboo. In declining civilizations, the only possibility of Renaissance is through diversity—through a minority, necessarily at first a small minority, which finds another way, a different mode of life, a new worship, or new morals which will change its course from downward to upward. In all declining civilizations, such minorities may be seen struggling for existence, and in all they may be seen stamped out by a system of espionage and inquisition compelling universal obedience to visible and orthodox and established authority. Every discoverable name of opprobrium is attached to these minorities, every engine of oppression is directed against them, new tortures and punishments are invented for them, the low nervous organizations of declining civilizations savagely confiding their national welfare to national uniformity. Spy government is founded on the punishment of disobedience and the extinction of diversity, and declining civilizations are always ruled by spies. Spiritual guidance and government have disappeared, orthodoxy is fixed by numerical and visible standards, departure from these standards is taboo, diversity is not tolerated, and minorities are exterminated. Under these conditions nothing can stop a nation's decline. Regeneration is impossible.

292. A seventh incident and evidence of civilization's decline is famine and plague. These follow from the causes already set forth. The exactions of state and Church annually sweep into their coffers all the annual gains from industry; nothing is left to accumulate in the hands of mortals. All the annual produce of the fields is annually consumed, and mankind depends upon the new

labor of the next season to make a new crop for the new wants of the next year. Low nervous organizations are prolific, multiply up to the limit of subsistence and then beyond it. Low nervous organizations are not centrifugal and the area of tillage is not extended; on the contrary it is, by conquest and pillage, often reduced. The surplus of food, which rising civilizations convert into drink, does not exist, and land is not tilled beyond the necessities for food alone. In a succession of good seasons, the number of mouths multiplies, until, in a bad season, famine is inevitable; and with famine comes plague. The absence of drinking habits in the proletariat of all declining civilizations is noticeable and inevitable. They have barely enough food for their subsistence and no surplus convertible into drink. Plague centennially excises the non-drinking proletariats, and famine and plague inevitably accompany declining civilizations.

When a population is regularly scourged by famine and plague, it has reached the foot of its decline, and becomes stationary at the bottom of its debasement. Its numbers remain about the same—changing from year to year, but not from age to age; its regular decimation is made good by its most prolific mothers, those who bear children with smaller heads; it has acquired plague moral instead of drink moral; and unless it suffers a visitation even more terrible —a foreign foe like Tartars sweeping across it and extinguishing all its numbers with fire and sword—it can continue within its own boundaries like the gibbous civilizations of Asia, neither waning nor waxing but stagnant and stationary. Its only possibility of regeneration is by the spirit, and the spirit that it once had has fled; the spiritual seeds have been trampled out and cannot quicken. It is but a spiritual desert in which revival is impossible, and it continues for centuries the carnal semblance of national life, without national animation, without national movement or expansion, national defense or offense, a prey to all the neighboring nations to whom the spirit has given life and movement.

CHAPTER XIX

CONSCIOUS CIVILIZATION

293. The social vision of vertebrates may be classified, described, and distinguished with mathematical exactness by geometric terms.

I. *The Point.*

When a turtle crawls from the water to a sandy beach, and deposits her eggs to be hatched by the sun, or when fish ascend a stream to deposit their spawn, their social vision is without dimensions, and is limited to knowledge of the individual alone. There is no mental conception even of the primary relation of parent and offspring, no idea of past and future, of a line of descent, of a common interest with contemporaries, or of a social organization.

II. *The Line.*

With mammals, the relation of parent and offspring begins. Among quadrupeds, this is confined to the mother, and is limited to the brief period of lactation. Not only is the father unconscious of the parental relation, but, among the carnivora, his attitude to the cubs that he has begotten is often hostile, and, unless they are carefully hidden by the mother, he will devour them. Even the period of maternal consciousness of parental relationship ends as soon as the young are weaned. In primitive man, the relation of father and child is almost as uncertain and unknown as among quadrupeds; and the consciousness of descent rarely, if ever, extends to a second generation; so that the relation of paternal grandfather and grandson is entirely absent. But in man, the period of helpless adolescence is much longer than

the period of lactation, so that the mother's consciousness of parenthood, instead of being cut off as soon as her children are weaned, is extended over the years of their youth to puberty, and even beyond. When the nervous organization is slightly augmented, the line of conscious descent is much further extended. It includes the whole of the male sex, and the relation of father and son, paternal grandfather and grandson, becomes highly exalted. Fatherhood is made certain by enforcing a strict regard for the chastity of mothers, and genealogies begin to be written which trace paternal lineage through many generations. All genealogy is evidence of some augmentation of the nervous organization beyond that of savages, and some improvement of domestic relations beyond those of promiscuity, and all written genealogies are paternal. From the improvement in domestic morals, the line becomes broadened so that the kinship of collaterals is recognized, and a family name or *gens* is applied to all who can trace their descent from a common paternal ancestor.

III. *The Plane.*

With the further augmentation of mankind's nervous organization, and the consequent rise of civilization, society is viewed as a plane of two dimensions. Men recognize not only family kinship but national, racial, and even spiritual kinship. They see their fellowmen as convivious beings, united in a social structure, ordering and regulating in some degree the conduct and morals of each, imposing duties and affording redress, by opposing the aggregate force of all to the social transgressions of one or few.

IV. *The Solid.*

Society is seen not as one plane of convivious mortals, but as a succession of planes, which, following each other through time, constitute a nation or demortal group having the three dimensions of a solid. The third dimension is added by time, and the national life, which lasts for centuries, gives scope for as much more modification of the national character as it transcends the brief span of mortal life or of

a single social plane. This last, highest, and only correct social vision has never been attained by prolific mortals, nor even by the minor groups of augmented nervous organizations that have ruled the highest civilizations of the past. It requires and implies a greater intellect than human groups, even the least prolific groups, have ever possessed, and it is found accordingly only in single minds, never in assemblies. The conception of this social vision, and the complete mastery of its possibilities for the improvement of mankind, can be ascribed to Numa and Jesus alone. It is by understanding, accepting, and adopting their methods for the perpetual improvement of a continuous social group of three dimensions, that mankind may expect to master the problem of conscious civilization, to avoid the errors and omissions of the past, and to make nations and races immortal.

294. A comparison of man's social vision during civilization's rise and at its apex, shows plainly the sources of the political errors which ensure its fall. In rising civilizations, each stirp has only a linear vision, acknowledges kinship only with the descendants of a common ancestor, lives, labors, and breeds only for itself, and transmits to its own descendants its spiritual and earthly gains or losses. But there are many stirpes, and the line of each is broadened with the increase of every generation. Out of the common strife there is evolved for survival and leadership those stirpes that have best lived, labored and bred, have been spiritually and corporeally most prolific, have increased the numbers and augmented the nervous organization of their descendants, and have enriched them with the best inheritance of spiritual and earthly gains. In the loose social structure of rising civilizations, the separate strife of a multitude of different stirpes works for the advancement and leadership of a few, but does not retard the remainder. Hope is not cut off from those that do not lead. If they are less prolific mentally they may be more prolific corporeally. If they have not yet kept pace with the leaders they may

have advanced nevertheless far beyond their own ancestors. Society as a whole is advancing, and the national spirit is rising, although a few families may seem to achieve and possess nearly all the gains, larger numbers are far behind them, although ahead of their own ancestors, and the largest number of all seem to have advanced but little if at all. It is thus that the linear social vision does not retard but actually advances civilization's rise.

As each stirp broadens and becomes interwoven with others, society ceases to present the picture of parallel threads of different strength, length, and hue, and assumes the likeness of a web. The greater number never change their social vision. Each acts only from a consciousness of his own present wants, but is quite incapable of intelligently directing the social activities of the group so as to secure the equal satisfaction of contemporaries, or to provide for his own or the national future. It is only small minorities of augmented intellect that ever attain a social vision of two dimensions. But their intellectual advancement over the remainder of mankind is so great that they assume and are accorded leadership and direction. They proclaim the common interest of all in all, they teach that the nation is no longer formed of parallel threads, but has become an interwoven whole which should be governed for the greatest good of the greatest number, and they call loudly for political measures which shall approve and perpetuate the uniformity which they see. Their appeal is gladly received by the sympathetic ears of all the masses of lower nervous organizations whose stirpes have advanced the least, and they are acclaimed as broadminded and far-seeing, not only by these who hope for immediate benefits from the vision of a social plane, but by higher stirpes who cannot refuse to acknowledge an intellectual advancement that really exists and the real superiority of a social vision of two dimensions instead of one. Under the leadership of this intellectual minority, the national political structure is changed so as to correspond with the new ideas. The perpetual strife of

separate stirpes is regulated, restricted, or abolished altogether, the further advancement of some is deemed dangerous to the less advanced, their accumulated gains are lopped off or taken for the common good, future strife, future gains, and future advancement beyond the commonalty are effectually prevented, and the political power of the whole body is employed to impair or destroy the ascendancy of the few. All the nation is seen as a homogeneous carpet, a social plane of two dimensions, in which uniformity must be preserved, the strength of the whole always considered, and consequently no threads can be allowed to separate from the others, to perform a different office, grow in a new way, gain a greater strength or acquire different moral colors than approved by the nation as a whole. Uniformity, always destroyed in rising civilizations by the social vision of one dimension, is proclaimed as a virtue to be eagerly sought and carefully preserved, in the social vision of the plane.

295. The vision of a social plane of two dimensions is of course an error; but it is an advance over the linear social vision of one dimension, it is a necessary step toward the true social vision of three dimensions, and it has acquired credit with mankind because it has enraptured the advanced minds of the highest civilizations in every country and age. The time when this error shall appear is fixed by mathematical law. It may be expected always when civilization is at its height, when the super-ponderance of the political structure over the mortal or family structure is greatest, when the powers of demortal government are supreme, and there is least resistance from its mortal subjects. Mortals, families, and stirpes, all are subverted, government and priesthood reign supreme. Then, misled by a social vision, the highest yet attained by mankind, but still one dimension short of the truth, government and priesthood, united for the advancement of mankind, conspire with exalted motives to accomplish civilization's fall. They strengthen the administrative organization of state and Church, perfect the temporal weapons which they wield, and add new arma-

ment and new weapons of offense and defense. Their establishments grow enormously, their surveillance is extended to every household and mart and factory, and to all human activities, the number of spies employed becomes prodigious, the burden of their maintenance exhausts those who must support it, the minutiæ of their inspection prevents escape from their decrees, which forbid diversity, and impose upon all mankind a uniform obedience to their written commands. With the change in political and ecclesiastical structure and adjective law, comes a multitude of new statutes making like changes, with a like purpose, in substantive law. From the social vision of two dimensions spring all those prohibitions designed and intended to forbid diversity, to color the lives and labor of mankind alike, to abolish differences of opinion, and to destroy all unsanctioned activities. Civilization's turning point has come. Augmented nervous organizations are not fungible, and the annual cost of imposing uniformity upon them is enormous. The sums necessary to support the huge establishments of state and Church grow more burdensome with each generation, as the taxpayers of lower nervous organization become more servile and less productive, and the burden of taxation gradually reduces to a common poverty all those who are not of the governmental or ecclesiastical establishments. In this universal poverty, the property rights of mortals are first impaired and then lost, private property exists not of right but by license from state or Church, and the licensees soon buy a precarious and revocable privilege of mortal ownership at whatever sum they can be forced to pay. The less fortunate subjects at the same time become utterly destitute; and in conformity with the general sense of common ownership of the common wealth, they are supported on doles or rations granted to them by state or Church. As lower nervous organizations are more prolific than higher, and the lowest are the most prolific of all, a rationed proletariat soon becomes a rabble, lacking the spiritual and mental qualities necessary to civilization. The vicious circle is

complete, and generation after generation follows its dreary round. The highest nervous organizations, among the laity, are destroyed by taxation and made servile by spies; the lowest are multiplied by rations and doles; and the establishments of state and Church, which extort the taxes and give the doles, are themselves gradually reduced to poverty and impotence because the inert mass of low nervous organizations, created by their own policy, no longer produces genius to recruit their ranks or wealth to maintain their grandeur. Civilization has failed again.[1]

296. Thus, civilization rises and falls in accordance with mathematical law. Its rise, seemingly fortuitous, was eventually certain in the diverse population and great area of the land world because, in time, the opportunities for it to happen exceeded the odds against it; but each separate civilization's fall is equally certain and more speedy. It does not wait for lapse of time to balance the odds against it; for there are no odds against it. National civilization must fall when a nation loses its vertebrate social and political structure and becomes homogeneous. Mathematical law is always working toward this result by the continuous exhaustion of the longer stirpes of the unprolific minority of augmented nervous organizations which constitute its head, and the perpetual replenishment of this smaller group by filtration from the larger and more prolific group of lower nervous organizations below. This process, indispensable to civilization, gradually erases the visible and audible differences between the groups of higher and lower nervous organizations, and creates a national aspect of uniformity.

[1] This was the condition of the Roman empire during the third century A.D., after Mithraism had become the state religion.

"The State became the Providence and the tormentor of everyone. Its fiscal system, developed under the pressure of a multiplied bureaucracy, of the mendicancy of the masses and of the augmentation of military expenditure, was atrocious and implacable. The taxes became innumerable, and their crushing weight was aggravated by debasing the coinage." (Ferrero, *The Ruin of Ancient Civilization and the Triumph of Christianity*, Chap. II, "The Crisis of the Third Century.")

Civilization cannot rise in a homogeneous group, and when this point is reached a new differentiation is necessary. But it is precisely at this point that the national political structure, misled by the social vision of two dimensions, is changed so as to forbid diversity. Uniformity becomes the law of its being, orthodoxy is established by numerical standards, and laboriously maintained by all the machinery of the state and ecclesiastical establishments. So long as the ideal of uniformity is maintained, and the powers of state and Church suffice to enforce it, it matters little who wields them. Uniformity itself is destructive. Hence, rulers and hierarchy may change, laws and doctrine may change; but if the powers of state and Church remain continuous and unbroken, and perpetually directed to the extermination of diversity, national civilization cannot rise again. Its Renaissance can take place (and did take place) only where these powers are utterly broken, freedom and diversity reappear, and the national differentiation creates a new vertebrate structure, having proportionate groups of higher and lower nervous organizations.

It is clear that all these factors which govern the rise of civilization in the land world and the fall of each national civilization, have operated in the past, and will continue to operate in the future, without the guidance of Numa and Jesus. These factors are fixed by mathematical law, and the temporal efforts of the fallible minds of civilized groups have made no impression upon them. Mankind's mentality and ideals at the apex of each civilization are themselves fixed by mathematical law, and the character of their temporal efforts may be foretold. Without Numa and Jesus, civilizations have risen, have run their destined course according to mathematical law, have perished and decayed, and will so continue to rise, run the same course, and fall as they have done before. It is the singular value of the teachings of Numa and Jesus that they are founded on knowledge of mathematical law, of the factors indispensable to civiliza-

tion's rise, and of those other factors, unknown to all other religious teachers, which are equally necessary to prevent its fall. Instead of the temporal and visible aspects of the social plane they saw mankind as a group of three dimensions, capable of infinite improvement throughout the succession of generations, as the social plane moves through time, and they understood the eternal and invisible factors by which such improvement may be accomplished. They differ from the other teachers of mankind as the eternal differs from the temporal, the infinite from the finite, or right from wrong.

297. Numa taught the improvement of mankind through a favorable selection of mothers, and hence, monogamy, by which their favorable selection may be continued after the age of pioneering. He made marriage a ceremonial religious sacrament, nearly indissoluble, admitting divorce only on the petition of the husband, and then for only four causes. Thus he gave conscious expression and sanction to a domestic union which had sometimes existed elsewhere, only as the fortuitous result of the numerical equality of the sexes among hardy pioneers in a new land. He stopped, at the very threshold of Roman civilization, the great disaster of the religious sterilization of chaste and pious women. He decreed for the whole Roman state four vestal virgins (the number was afterward increased to six), each to be selected at the age of ten and to serve for life or thirty years. To these symbols of purity and virginity he attracted and attached all the religious veneration of a primitive and superstitious people; so that he fixed ever before their minds the perpetual worship of woman's chastity without, in fact, sterilizing more than a tiny fraction of its total quantity or subtracting a perceptible amount of virtue from posterity. Having thus given to chastity and virginity the highest spiritual sanction and public authority, he taught Romans to marry their young virgins early, and to make them fruitful in obedience to paternal and virile power. It was a perfect plan for the conscious augmentation of the Roman spirit,

and it raised a civilization of stability and grandeur from the most unpromising materials.

Religious sanction to indissoluble monogamous marriage *ipso facto* established and sanctified rights of private property. Every Roman was born to parents whose exclusive rights in their marital union were accepted and acknowledged by all other Romans. The sense of exclusive and acknowledged rights, created in mothers only by monogamous marriage, transmitted to their descendants a like sense for exclusive and acknowledged rights of property; and private property was nowhere so respected as in ancient Rome. Numa built the temples of Faith and Terminus, and taught the Romans to revere both. Thus, he established and sanctified the rights of private ownership, teaching men religious veneration for fidelity in their dealings with each other and religious respect for the boundaries of each other's property. Following Pythagoras, he taught the incessant industry by which men's private possessions are increased. "Do not sit on a peck measure," make thyself a chair. "Do not stir the fire with a sword," make a poker. "Do not drink the wine of wild grapes," plant a vineyard and prune your vines. "Do not sacrifice with uncrushed corn," grind it into meal. All these maxims have been preserved, and many more must have been lost. Industry, thrift, private possessions, boundaries, and land held in severalty instead of in common, were cardinal principles of Numa's religious teaching.

Numa taught the Romans to sacrifice without effusion of blood, but with bread and wine. This gave to their rising civilization three indispensable factors.

(1) It stopped the religious sacrifice of human beings. Among prolific groups of low nervous organization, the religious sacrifice of their own offspring is the commonest of errors, appearing and reappearing everywhere on both hemispheres of the globe, and in all ages. Moses weaned Israel from it by substituting the bloody sacrifice of sheep, goats, oxen, and fowls; but under the debasing influence of inherited polygamy and the example of the Canaanitish

tribes, Israel returned to it. Numa gave the Romans a sacrifice without blood.

(2) In all ages, the very poor have necessarily subsisted on a fleshless diet; and religious sacrifices that demanded flesh must have been confined to the wealthy few, and have been excluded from the masses of the poor. By teaching that bread was a worthy offering, Numa brought religious sacrifices and religious sanctions into the home of the humblest Romans, giving them the same standing as the patricians with the nation's gods.

(3) A proletariat without wine is centennially excised by plague, its numbers always renewed by the most prolific women of low nervous organization who bear children with smaller heads, and such a proletariat cannot improve. By teaching to Romans the religious use of wine, Numa insured the eventual improvement of the Roman proletariat, redeeming them from the disaster of plague moral, and insuring them against famine by increasing the area of tillage. As long as the Roman proletariat continued, under Numa and Jesus, the sacrifice of bread and wine, it continually improved.

298. Numa stamped out at the beginning the disastrous superstition of fixing orthodoxy by numerical standards. Where it was necessary to act in concert, the activities of all were determined by haruspices chosen from the patrician group of highest nervous organization. Auguries were taken from various phenomena that the multitude of lower nervous organization could not control,—from the flight of birds, from the entrails of beasts, from the aspects of the heavens. The interpretation of these auguries was left to the small patrician group of augmented nervous organizations which constituted the national head, and if omens were unfavorable, this group searched for favorable ones. The superstitious notion that a numerical preponderance of low nervous organizations furnishes a satisfactory standard of orthodoxy, and a safe guide to success, found no support in Numa's teachings.

But Numa created no priestly caste to separate the Romans from their deities. The priestly office did not set a man apart from his fellows, nor sanctify him, nor mark him for sterility, nor give him an authority with the deity that others could not share. It was held by election, by appointment, or by lot, it was not heritable, and it carried no spiritual authority to grant absolution or indulgence, no earthly power of inquisition, condemnation or punishment. While the priests were conducting their sacrifices, the other Romans proceeded unmolested with their affairs. Every paterfamilias was a priest, appointing the gods and performing the sacrifices for all his household.

Under Numa, the Roman institutions of state, Church, army and family, took on a vertebrate structure which continued till the decline of the Republic. The state had a "head" and continued to have a "head" after the kings were driven out, and the vertebrate political structure of the Republic was established. "*Senatus Populusque Romanus*" may be freely translated as "head and body of Rome." The Church had a head, the army had a head, and every family had a head. The Roman state was a vertebrate political structure, served by the vertebrate structures of Church and army, uniting the vertebrate domestic structures of a multitude of families, and each family itself composed of vertebrate mortals. The differentiation of function into head and body which constitutes the structure of vertebrates, pervaded every Roman institution during Roman civilization's rise.

Numa founded Roman civilization on the absence of prohibitions, so as to make differentiation and diversity not only possible but (as augmented nervous organizations were born) mathematically certain. The long catalogue of forbidden things, forbidden words, forbidden days, forbidden food and drink and activities which characterized Asiatic religions, was unknown to the religion of Numa. Tribal taboo was abolished. The multitude of vertebrate family structures that composed the Roman state lived, labored

and bred, generation after generation, without religious persecution, because religious prohibitions were absent, and the religious freedom of each family was established.

Numa made forgiveness the cardinal principle of the adjective law and criminal procedure of the Roman state. Besides no religious prohibitions there was no religious espionage or inquisition. There was no body of paid police, paid prosecutors or paid spies. Civil offences, short of murder, were forgiven or punished by family tribunals under the direction of the family head, or prosecuted before state tribunals on the accusatory principle of criminal procedure only. The right to prosecute for the redress or punishment of wrong was the birth-right of every Roman citizen but unless an accusation were brought before its courts, the Roman state did not seek to unearth or punish offenders. It perpetually forgave sinners and left them to the punishment visited upon them by their families or their sins.

299. Seven centuries separated Numa and Jesus and in point of time the latter may be said to have followed the former. But there is no evidence that he had ever heard of the teachings of Numa or followed him in any other than a chronological sense. Jesus thought independently, but as the computations of both were mathematically correct, they reached nearly identical results. Numa's teachings were emphasized and bettered by Jesus. Jesus taught the same monogamous marriage, but gave the husband only one cause for divorce instead of four. He taught the same chastity and purity of domestic life. He taught the same honesty and good faith between men, the sanctity of private property, that a man should do as he will with his own, and, while his gospel was followed, the Christians rose from the poorest to be the richest subjects of Rome. He taught the same sacrifice of bread and wine without effusion of blood. He taught men to address their prayers in their own closets directly to their "Father in Heaven," and not to be separated from God by a priestly caste. He taught men to be humble, to live by faith and the word of God, and to bow

down to invisible power. By example and by precept he rebuked superstitious reverence for numerical standards of orthodoxy, servile obedience to earthly majorities and earthly powers, he declared the true criterion, "by their fruits ye shall know them," not by the numbers they attract, and he suffered on the cross because the multitude gave their votes for Barabbas against him. He taught the superiority of minorities of augmented nervous organization, the vertebrate structure of social organizations, and he stated briefly and perfectly the mathematical law for the improvement of an ever-changing group. "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." His religion had no prohibitions, and when these were demanded, he answered with affirmations "Love thy God and love thy neighbor." He taught that nothing that went into the mouth defileth a man. The religions of both Numa and Jesus were eating and drinking religions. But while Numa forebade wine to women, Jesus gave the cup to all who enter His fold and partake of His holy communion. Finally, he taught forgiveness, and dwelt upon it in the strongest terms. Numa left men's daily transgressions to be tried, judged and punished by the transgressor's immediate family, those who would forgive most. Jesus went further. Men must forgive trespasses as they hope to be forgiven.

Resist not evil, judge not lest ye be judged, let him that is without sin first cast a stone, pluck the beam from thine own eye, turn the other cheek, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more, thy sins are forgiven, forgive thy brother unto seventy times seven times.

Such a gospel must be without prohibitions for they could not be enforced. What availeth it to forbid sins and trespasses, if sinners and trespassers are all forgiven? The unforgivable sin of *mortals* was murder, since the victim, being

dead, had lost his power to forgive; and of *groups*, was the sin against the holy spirit, the fatal superstition that mankind could be saved by jails and stripes and the carnal punishments inflicted by earthly and temporal powers. All the wicked machinery of human inquisition, spies, torture, prosecutors, trials, judges, and carnal punishments for the salvation of man, he cast aside, rebuked, and repudiated. Men are subject to a higher power whose trials are infallible and whose judgments are righteous altogether.

300. Under the tradition and practice of this gospel, the Christian spirit was exalted for about three centuries. In this era of gospel Christianity, the "scriptures" (i.e. the Hebrew scriptures or old testament) as we have them now, were wholly unknown to the faithful converts of the new religion. Books were written out by hand instead of printed, their number was few, and their circulation small. Most of the faithful probably never possessed a written book, a written gospel, a written copy of any of Paul's epistles, and could not have read one if they had seen it. The Gospel was handed down by oral tradition, long before it was preserved in writing. An epistle of Paul or James may have been read in some of the Churches, but there were great Christian communities where even this was never seen. Outside of Jersualem itself, the Church was a Gentile Church wholly ignorant of the Mosaic law, of the Hebrew prophets and the Jewish Bible, not observing the Jewish Sabbath, Jewish calendar, Jewish fast-days, rites or prohibitions, forgetting the Saviour's Jewish birth, remembering only his Jewish crucifixion, guided entirely by what men remembered and handed down of the Gospel that he had preached. They believed in Jesus as the Redeemer of mankind, and they kept their covenant with Him by living in purity of body and spirit, and by celebrating every day His holy sacrifice of bread and wine. His service was perfect freedom.[1]

It is after the Council of Nicæa in the fourth century

[1] See the letter which the Council of the Apostles at Jerusalem sent to the Gentile converts, as given in Acts XV.

that gospel Christianity came to its end, to be superseded by the post-Nicene Church, a human, and soon an Asiatic, institution. This Church was in every respect the antithesis of the gospel of Jesus. With its allied governments it sought out, repudiated, and destroyed everything which Jesus had taught. An historian who observes the rise, in the short space of three centuries, of an obscure and feeble sect to a powerful and populous denomination, gaining the command of a mighty empire, and who sees, in the following centuries, this same denomination falling to impotence, idolatry, ignorance, and superstition, would expect to find the apex of its rise marked by a sharp reversal in its teachings and practice, so that under the same name it concealed an institution which during its fall was the exact opposite of what it had been during its rise. History exactly fulfills this expectation, and it is convenient to set forth the evidence in numbered paragraphs.

301. I. It began, as spiritual decline always begins, with an adverse selection of mothers. Jesus approved marriage and fruitfulness, and consecrated the nuptial feast at Cana with his first miracle. He intended His church to be spiritually and corporeally prolific. "Suffer little children to come unto me," he told his disciples, "and forbid them not for of such is the kingdom of heaven." For three centuries the most pious and chaste of the Gospel Christians

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"For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things;

"That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well." (Acts XV, 28, 29.)

This was the first of the General Councils; the only one in which there sat men who had seen Jesus and had heard him preach; and, "the only one," says Dean Stanley, "of which the direct object was not an enforcement of uniformity, but a toleration of diversity." Compare these prohibitions with the prohibitions of the Mosaic law to which all the Jews in this Council were born; or with the prohibitions of later Councils from Nicæa onward; or of the mediæval Church; or of some of the apostate Christian states of the present day.

were married and fruitful and great numbers of their little children came unto Him. The post-Nicene Church taught the wickedness of the marriage bed, condemned fruitfulness as a worldly sin, instructed its bishops and priests in celibacy, and glorified sterility in the pious and chaste, so that a "religious" was one who could not marry and who brought no little children to Christ.

II. Jesus taught strict indissoluble monogamy with divorce granted only to the husband and only for one cause. The post-Nicene Church and the Christian emperors allowed and countenanced concubinage, and granted freedom of divorce to both parties in marriage for a multitude of causes.

III. Jesus taught the sanctity of private property and a strict observance of its rights in honesty and good faith. Under the Christian emperors and the post-Nicene Church rights of private ownership were almost abolished and the Christian laity were but laboring slaves chained to the soil and yielding all the annual produce of their industry to the tax gatherers of state and Church.

IV. Jesus taught the sacrifice with bread and wine, with a daily petition to the Father in heaven, and gospel Christians made this a daily sacrifice with their daily prayer. Under the post-Nicene Church the Christian laity no longer received the communion of bread and wine daily, or even weekly, but not oftener than thrice, sometimes only once a year, sometimes not at all.

V. Jesus condemned the public forms and ceremonies of the Jews in their temples and told his followers to pray to their God secretly in their closets. The post-Nicene Church revived and exaggerated form and ceremonial, elaborated their ritual, gave religious significance to attitudes and gestures, magnified its hierarchy, built the most costly and imposing temples for its priesthood, invented and supported the intercession of saints and hermits, and shut all the laity away from the immediate fellowship of God.[1]

[1] The separation of the Christian laity from their Father in heaven became and remained complete for many centuries. The worship of the

VI. Jesus taught the worship of an invisible God and gospel Christians abhorred idolatry. The post-Nicene Church introduced the worship of images, shrines, and relics, and taught the laity to adore and venerate these visible things.

VII. Jesus taught the spiritual authority of faith and the word of God against the visible standards set up by numerical majorities. He and his disciples were a tiny minority, and to the middle of the third century the converts to his gospel were always a minority. From the Council of Nicæa, the post-Nicene Church adopted, and continuously preserved, visible and numerical standards of orthodoxy, settling all disputes by a preponderance of numbers, repressing and persecuting all dissenting minorities.

VIII. Jesus preached a religion without prohibitions, and expressly repudiated the Mosaic prohibitions of the Asiatic Church to which he was born. The post-Nicene Church invented prohibitions of every sort and kind and continu-

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poor was fixed on visible things and most of them probably did not believe in the existence of an invisible God, certainly they neither worshipped Him nor prayed to Him. Casanova sailed from Otranto to Corfu with a troop of Italian comedians and the boat was overtaken by a violent storm which frightened everyone aboard so that nothing was heard but weeping and sobbing.

"Everyone of them was calling earnestly upon some saint, *but not one single prayer to God did I hear!*" (*Memoirs of Casanova*, Vol. II, Chap. II.)

In Russia it was the same:

"They all hold St. Nicholas in the greatest reverence, only praying to God through the mediation of this saint, whose picture is always suspended in the principal room of the house. A person coming in makes first a bow to the image and then a bow to the master, and if perchance the image is absent, the Russian after gazing all round, stands confused and motionless, not knowing what to do. As a general rule the Muscovites are the most superstitious Christians in the world. Their liturgy is in Greek, of which the people understand nothing, and the clergy, themselves extremely ignorant, gladly leave them completely in the dark on all matters connected with religion." (*Ibid.*, Vol. X, Chap. IX.)

Both these examples are from the Catholic and orthodox Church. It was the Protestants that revived the habit of praying directly to God.

ally added to their number until it finally acquired a multitude as various and grotesque as those of any Asiatic religion.

IX. Jesus preached forgiveness on every occasion for every wrong. A fanatical Christian of the Gospel Church who had heard or read the Sermon on the Mount, would forgive *everything—every* wrong done to him, *every* sin of his neighbor. The post-Nicene Church set up the opposite or Asiatic standard. It forgave nothing and it punished forgiveness as a crime. With its allied governments it erected into a criminal offense disobedience to any of its multitude of prohibitions, and sought to enforce upon all its Christian subjects perfect and complete obedience to its visible and carnal rule. So it instituted and maintained an inquisition into men's thoughts, opinions, letters, their bed and board, domestic lives, misfortunes, faults, vices, failings, and sins. No sin was too small to escape its notice, and no crime was too great to buy its indulgence.

X. Jesus gave to mankind a new testament for their salvation, and the Gentile converts to the new faith accepted as the Holy Scriptures the gospels which contained his teachings.[1] The post-Nicene Church adopted the Jew-

[1] The most numerous as well as the most learned and wealthy of the early Christians were the Gnostics, who were almost without exception Gentiles. They arose in the first and second centuries, flourished during the third, and were suppressed by the post-Nicene Church.

"The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man was treated with profane derision by the Gnostics, who would not listen with patience to the repose of the Deity after six days' labour, to the rib of Adam, the Garden of Eden, the trees of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against human kind for the venial offence of their first progenitors. The God of Israel was impiously represented by the Gnostics as a being liable to passion and to error, capricious in his favour, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous of his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providence to a single people, and to this transitory life. In such a character they could discover none of the features of the wise and omnipotent Father of the universe. They allowed that the religion of the Jews was somewhat less criminal than the idolatry of the Gentiles:

ish Bible, gave it canonical sanction, incorporated it with the holy scriptures, bowed to its authority, and followed with blind reverence the impure and Asiatic superstitions which it introduced into Europe. The spirit of persecution of the declining Jewish faith supplanted the forgiveness and tolerance of the new Covenant, and the long red stream of Christian blood which stains the pages of its history for a thousand years, had its well-spring in the laudation of Josiah and the hatred of Jesus.[1]

Here then was an institution which was not Christian in any sense; which followed the Gospel Christianity of the first three centuries in point of time, but bore no other relation to it than to claim the same founder and the same name. It repudiated everything which Jesus had taught in the Gospels, everything that had been the practice of the Gospel Christians, and in a few generations its followers were as debased as the Gospel Christians had been exalted. Its poison infected, for ten centuries, every land and race which fell into its embrace, until some of the fairest portions of the earth, once the seats of a mighty and populous Church of Gospel Christians, were lost irretrievably to the Asiatic rivals of this Asiatic institution.

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but it was their fundamental doctrine that the Christ whom they adored as the first and brightest emanation of the Deity appeared upon earth to rescue mankind from their various errors, and to reveal a *new* system of truth and perfection." (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XV.)

[1] St. Ambrose expressly praises and recommends the zeal of Josiah in the destruction of idolatry. In the conversation between Ambrose and Theodosius, examples from the Jewish scriptures were constantly cited. Theodosius issued the first imperial edict against heretics.

"It is our pleasure that all the nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation should stedfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the apostles, and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorise the followers of this

302. During the same period the Jews, whose system of persecution the Christians had adopted with their scriptures, were relegated to the position, and soon acquired many of the virtues, of the early Christians. They were a feeble minority which might suffer but could not inflict persecution. They had no secular government of their own, endowed with temporal authority and carnal powers, to exact universal obedience to visible rule. Like the early Christians, their priests exercised spiritual authority, led their flock by spiritual grace, were the first to suffer from the religious intolerance of secular governments, were powerless to levy taxes or seize goods or try, condemn, scourge, or imprison the disobedient among their flock. All secular governments were hostile and all governmental powers were forbidden to them. Only a spiritual covenant bound them together and excommunication or denial of fellowship with others of their faith or blood, was the only punishment that could be inflicted. They had no nation and no national or political organization, and their impotence saved them from the national and political errors

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doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of Heretics, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them." (380 A.D.). (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XXVII; Codex Theodos 1. XVI, tit. i. leg. 2.

Contrast this enforced uniformity with the *fifty sects* which soon sprung up among the early Christians.

In the reign of his rival and colleague Maximus, by the sentence of the Prætorian prefect, seven persons were tortured, condemned and executed for heresy—Priscillian, Bishop of Avila in Spain, two presbyters, two deacons, Latronian, a poet and Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bordeaux. This was the first Christian blood shed by Christians. (385 A.D.). The reader will remark that this debasement of the Church from the Christian doctrine of forgiveness to the Asiatic practice of persecution occurred about a generation after the universal and enthusiastic acceptance of the religious sterilization of the pious and chaste.

which had destroyed them under their own Jewish governments, and which continued to debase and destroy Christians under Christian governments. Religious and spiritual authority increased among them as secular authority declined. Their ancestors had rejected and crucified the Christ, but their descendants were improved and preserved by Christian virtues. Gradually they abandoned the polygamy of Moses and adopted Numan and Christian monogamy. They escaped the disaster of the monastic life, of the cloistered and sterile virginity of the pious and chaste, and their young virgins were dedicated in ceremonial marriage to holy fruitfulness. Rabbinical divorces were still pronounced, and the intellectual advancement which would have followed stricter marriage customs was somewhat tempered by this facility of divorce. But the Christian selection of mothers after the fourth century was wholly bad from continuous religious sterilization of their best women. The Jewish selection, on the other hand, was fairly good, and incomparably superior to the Christian or to any polygamous selection. It was standardized, and for ten or twelve centuries it remained practically unchanged, never improving to the highest standards set by Numa and Jesus, but never declining to the low standards of the post-Nicene Church. The mediæval civilization of the Jews was standardized as their selection of mothers was standardized. Their nervous organization was so augmented that they were no longer tempted into the idolatry, harlotry or human sacrifice of their remote forefathers in the land of Canaan. Generation after generation and century after century they maintained their intellectual and spiritual standards, and preserved and transmitted them to their posterity. They relaxed the Mosaic prohibitions, abandoned the bloody sacrifices, and adopted the ceremonial and religious use of wine which Numa and Jesus had taught to the Gentiles. Their marriage customs gave them a far better sense of private ownership and exclusive rights in property than their ancestors had enjoyed under inherited polygamy in the

Book of Kings; and better than Christians could acquire, under the concubinage and free divorce of the post-Nicene Church. Having no secular government and no secular power of taxation, they escaped the chronic addition to the number of their prohibitions, and the paid spies, inquisitors, and prosecutors enforcing obedience to these prohibitions, from which the Christians suffered. The Jews were persecuted only as Jews, not to abolish diversity between themselves, but because they were set apart from the Christian powers under whose rule they lived.[1] But somewhere in Europe during all the middle ages, if not always in one country then in another, they enjoyed a greater security of life, property and reputation than their own Jewish governments had afforded of old to their own Jewish ancestors. Under their own governments all these might be forfeited on allegations of blasphemy or adultery and proved by false witnesses.[2] Under alien Christian rule, blasphemers were perforce forgiven because no Jewish government existed to punish them, and no Christian government would listen to complaints of Jewish spies or prosecutors or receive Jewish testimony.

Thus European history from the Council of Nicæa to the Diet of Worms presents an interesting and singular study in the contrast between Christian and Jew. The former could claim from the founder of his religion a gospel perfectly adapted to the exaltation of the spirit, and the continuous improvement of mankind. The latter had received from a remote age an Asiatic religion under which his own ancestors in their promised land had sunk to idolatry and sin and

[1] Their position was not unlike the early Christians in the pagan Roman empire who were occasionally persecuted or massacred because they were Christians; not because they differed from other Christians on disputed points of theology. Both the early Christians and the mediæval Jews were feeble minorities who could oppose to their carnal persecutors only their spiritual virtues of patience and forgiveness.

[2] See the stories of Naboth's vineyard, Suzanna and the Elders and the Crucifixion of Jesus.

had been overwhelmed, dispersed and nearly destroyed. For a millennium they changed places. The post-Nicene Church inflicted upon the mediæval Christians the impure superstitions and spiritual debasement of the Asiatic religion of Moses, while the Jews themselves gained nearly all the benefits of the New Testament brought to mankind by their own Messiah which their own ancestors had rejected and crucified.

303. The history of the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem and their dispersal among alien lands, furnishes two points of especial interest to the student of civilization.

(1) There have been many examples of the fortuitous rise of civilization, but the Jews are the only instance in all history of its fortuitous preservation. So long as they had a secular government of their own it repeated, under the Asiatic religion of Moses, the same errors that other secular governments have always committed, and that cause the fall of civilization with mathematical precision. There were the same prohibitions, persecutions, inquisition, espionage, all directed to the same result of carnal uniformity enforced by carnal punishments. When they were scattered among the peoples of the earth, without a secular government of their own, they preserved their racial and religious identity by the spiritual covenant of a common faith and a common blood, and endured throughout the centuries, because the means of self-destruction were denied to the Jewish group. No matter how unforgiving were the mortals among them, the Jewish group, itself a demortal, must always forgive offences because it could not punish. It acknowledged the law of Moses, but it practiced the forgiveness of Christ.

(2) A group whose intellectual standards hardly change from generation to generation and from century to century, is usually uncivilized or post-civilized. The same phenomenon is common to the world of savage man and to the gibbous civilizations of Asia. In either case the intellect oscillates forever near a fixed standard from which it does not depart, and succeeding generations do not acquire and

accumulate intellectual accessions, or permanently advance from their ancestral standards. For the whole of the Christian era, the Jews furnish a notable and, so far as I know, the only exception to this rule. Their civilization never rose to the highest standards achieved by groups with the best selection of mothers; nor did it ever fall to the depths of abasement which afflicted the post-Nicene Church, and afterward the Moslems. In their promised land, and under the rule of their own Church and state, Jewish civilization rose and fell exactly like other civilizations. In alien lands, and under alien rule, it preserved for nearly twenty centuries a standard so nearly uniform that it may be used as a perfect and convenient *datum plane* by which to measure at any time the rise and fall of rival and contemporaneous civilizations.

As often as the Christian or Moslem group has a selection of mothers better than the standardized Jewish selection of this era, its nervous organization, spiritual stature, and intellectual attainments have risen higher than the Jews, and it has created a civilization which has surpassed them in learning, arts, and splendor. As often as the selection of mothers has fallen below the Jewish selection, Christian and Moslem groups have declined below the Jewish standard, their intellects dwarfed and their spirits enslaved by idolatry and visible prohibitions. The masses of low nervous organization of these groups have become but hewers of wood and drawers of water for the rich Jews of higher nervous organization who have acquired, possessed, and conserved their national wealth, trafficked in the annual product of their national industry, and sustained themselves like parasites that are longer lived and higher organized, although smaller than the body on which they feed. Wherever there is seen in Christendom the frequent spectacle of terror and ferocity inspired by a tiny and dominant minority of wealthy Jews, there may be safely postulated domestic customs that give to each succeeding generation of Christians a worse selection than the Jewish selection of mothers. Wherever there is no anti-semitism and the Jew

is regarded as harmless and useful, national wealth and power is in the hands of Christians, there may be postulated with equal certainty a background of domestic customs which have given to Christians a better selection than the Jewish selection of mothers.

304. Thus the historical record of all civilizations shows that each group is ruled, as would be expected, by mathematical law, which deals equally and justly with all alike, always bringing forth the same results from the same causes. It decreed the fortuitous rise of civilizations in the land-world, fixed the heights which each should attain, and determined with equal certainty their fall. It even gave, for the instruction of mankind, the single example of civilization's fortuitous preservation in a single group. By mathematical law it is possible to deduce not only the factors of civilization's rise, but the reasons for its fall, and the means whereby it may be preserved. These deductions are supported by the entire historical record, and both reason and history approve the conclusion that conscious civilization may be founded and maintained on the teachings of Numa and Jesus. Civilization rises from a favorable selection of mothers which augments the nervous organization of posterity, exalts the spirit, and enlarges the intellect; but inasmuch as higher nervous organizations are less prolific than lower ones, their numerical disadvantage must be offset by private property and alcohol—for in the land-world, where sugar and fermentation exist, augmented nervous organizations, private property and alcohol are ever and necessarily associated. But the inferior numbers and fecundity of augmented nervous organizations demands the continuous replacement of their dying strains by new strains rising from below, and this process results eventually in a nation that is apparently homogeneous. At this point fortuitous civilizations have reached their apex and always fall. A homogeneous nation that adopts visible and numerical standards of orthodoxy, enforced by visible and temporal power, is certain to decline. Spiritual stature becomes

dwarfed, spiritual standards are forsaken, spiritual authority is lost, spiritual revival ceases, succeeding generations no longer see or fear invisible powers or obey their invisible commands. The carnal and visible powers of Church and state enforce carnal and visible uniformity by spies and inquisition, and each new generation born under these established institutions grows up to be ruled by the dead hand of the visible and accepted authority of the past. Progress stops, rise is impossible, and numerical standards give to the lowest and most prolific nervous organizations of the group the power to fix and determine the uniform conduct of all. Even the most augmented nervous organizations err, and uniformity would be deadly even if orthodox standards were fixed by the smaller group of higher nervous organizations. When it is fixed by the larger group of lower nervous organizations, error is both certain and speedy, and uniformity enforces it upon all alike. The destruction of civilization becomes mathematically certain.

305. Uniformity is the common error of the social vision of two dimensions, and a group misled by this social vision cannot attain conscious civilization. It is because Numa and Jesus had the true social vision of three dimensions that they saw and avoided this error and taught mankind the true religion. Not prohibitions and punishments, but freedom and forgiveness will save mankind. Not uniformity but diversity. Not by chaining all mankind to a common standard of orthodoxy, but by unchaining them and leaving each man, each family, each stirp, each group to work out its own salvation, posterity ever enriched by the better out of a multitude of efforts. This marks the intellectual and spiritual superiority of their teachings. They gave conscious instruction in the way of national life. They taught the domestic customs that would augment the nervous organization consciously, instead of fortuitously, and they taught the secular and ecclesiastical polity necessary to preserve in national life the ascendancy of augmented nervous organizations forever and ever.

Because augmented nervous organizations are not fungible, they cannot be standardized and because they are not servile, they cannot endure enforced uniformity. Diversity is necessary to their creation, existence, and preservation; diversity can be secured only by freedom; and freedom only by forgiveness and the absence of prohibitions. Forgiveness and the absence of prohibitions were cardinal principles of the religions taught by Numa and Jesus. So that it may be truly said that the pure principles of these religions contain the necessary factors for a conscious civilization consciously raising itself out of barbarism, and consciously maintaining itself throughout eternity.

306. Because the social vision of three dimensions is too exalted for the intellect of prolific human beings, it cannot be consciously adopted and accepted by national groups for the guidance of the national future. It secures the welfare of those that are yet unborn and have no votes; but its benefits are too remote from the immediate and pressing wants of the needy living to inspire their present emotions or invite their grateful acceptance. In the temporal affairs of worldly men it seems to promise nothing from which they may expect gains, and as it transcends their knowledge and disdains their feelings, it is wholly rejected by the heads and the hearts of nearly all mankind. Numa and Jesus both foresaw that this would be so, and each dealt with it in his own way. Numa, upon whom the powers of government were conferred, established the vertebrate state of Rome under an aristocratic head which would preserve freedom longest because most benefited by it. It was when Numan marriage had ceased to augment the nervous organization, and free divorce had debased the patriciate, that the Roman head lost its authority, the body ruled, and Roman freedom and forgiveness disappeared.

Jesus, foreseeing the same inability of prolific human groups to give either intellectual or emotional acceptance to the doctrine of freedom and forgiveness, dealt with the same danger under different circumstances and in a differ-

ent way. He was a religious teacher without secular power, relying solely on spiritual authority, preaching only to a feeble group, and accepted only by a still feebler minority of that group. Accordingly He emphasized the necessity of faith. Men must believe in Him, abide in Him, receive and obey the Word, not by the power of their own understanding, for their understanding is defective, but by faith. It is only faith that can make them whole. Jesus' doctrine of faith is predicated on knowledge of the mental defects of prolific mankind. They cannot go further than the social vision of two dimensions and the intellects of only a tiny minority can go as far as this. They must receive from divine guidance the true social vision of three dimensions, that sees in each generation only a step in an eternal progress toward immortality, and they can accept by faith alone the religious principles, founded upon immortal truth, which shall save them from the fatal errors of mankind's shortened vision and finally bring the kingdom of heaven upon earth. He knew that his teachings would not and could not be understood, and it is entirely certain that they were not. The nervous organization of prolific groups cannot be so greatly augmented, and it is mathematically impossible that vast numbers, sufficient to establish a great Church, should possess the spiritual exaltation or the intellectual attainments necessary for the complete understanding and acceptance of the gospel of freedom and forgiveness. Jesus could not expect this from their minds and accordingly appealed to their hearts. He asked them not to understand but to believe; not to rely on their wisdom, but to accept by their faith. It is the clearest evidence of His exalted intellectual superiority that He knew how far it transcended even the heights of human intellect, and told his followers that they could be saved only by a belief that rested on their faith and not on their knowledge.

307. All the necessary factors of a conscious civilization have now been assembled; and it is convenient to recite them in a different order than they have appeared in the

book. Civilization requires augmented nervous organizations; but lower nervous organizations are more prolific than higher, so that these can come upon the earth, exist, flourish, and maintain themselves only under conditions which offset the advantages of superior numbers and fecundity enjoyed by lower beings. So long as the waters covered the earth, the equality of all other factors made fecundity the governing factor for determining the number and character of posterity, and in all the ages this has ever been true, so that in the great deep augmented nervous organizations have never risen and fecundity still rules. It is the land-world that made possible the gradual accumulation of other factors offsetting the numerical advantages of fecundity, and the possibility of civilization first dawned when the waters of the earth were parted from the land. The new environment to which living beings were then introduced, invited and continuously stimulated an infinite differentiation in which augmented nervous organizations could take and keep advantages not equally shared by lower nervous organizations. Changes of temperature, altitude, atmosphere, moisture, light, color, sustenance, gradually differentiated the fauna and flora, and brought into being the beasts of the field whose posterity was perpetually affected and modified by factors other than fecundity. These factors were as sleepless and effective as fecundity itself and their continuous operation culminated in savage man, a dominant minority among the beasts.

Man was exposed to all the old factors of differentiation and to new ones affecting fortuitously mankind alone. Factors hitherto unknown were, mating and fruitfulness without the mutual desires of both sexes but with desire in only one parent, obedience consecrated to fruitfulness in the other; private property, with the possibility of accumulating and holding its gains through many generations; harvest, and storing the surplus products of ancestral labor for posterity's future use; sugar and fermentation, giving mankind the new aid of alcohol in the contest against famine and

plague. Each of these factors, impossible in the waters and unknown to the beasts of the earth, was a great offset to fecundity and their cumulative effect inspired mankind with a new and spiritual differentiation of which higher nervous organizations were born, the spiritual stature increased, and the intellect enlarged. With their augmented nervous organization men acquired a new spiritual experience, a religious conception of an invisible, omnipotent, and omniscient deity, an eternal and heavenly being, ruling the earth, but above earthly limitations and without mortal defects, but guiding mortals with more than mortal wisdom and other than mortal powers. Man created God in his own image, and every group's spiritual conception of its deity or deities accurately measures its spiritual stature. Religion introduced still another factor to offset the numerical advantages of fecundity; and the character and sway of a group's religious convictions exercised a potent influence on the nature of its posterity.

308. The fortuitous factors of marriage, private property, harvest and fermentation, all limited to the land-world, were sufficiently potent to offset the numerical advantages of fecundity, and augment the nervous organization of mankind, in the comparative freedom of pioneers, raising a new civilization in a new land. All pioneers enjoy nearly the same fortuitous advantages; a loosely knit political and ecclesiastical structure, comparatively weak, a large area of complete freedom of action, the greatest diversity between mortals, families, and stirpes, in factors other than fecundity, and a posterity whose character is determined chiefly by the labor and morals of its immediate ancestors. The carnal and temporal powers of state and Church rule so small a sphere of their human activities that all the remainder, much the greater part, is left to the spiritual rule of their unseen God. Freedom permits a wide diversity between mortals, families and stirpes, they live, labor and breed separately and independently of each other, their activities are not standardized by temporal power, and

their posterity is improved by the continuous selection of the better out of a multitude of separate efforts. Through these fortuitous advantages pioneer groups can always raise a civilization, and its character and height will be fixed by the spiritual guidance which they get from the unseen God that their own religious conceptions have created for themselves.

These fortuitous advantages end with the age of pioneers. When their nervous organizations become so augmented that they have attained civilization, the temporal institutions of state and Church are closely knit, long established, and receive the natural homage paid to ancient institutions, besides the present obedience enforced by their carnal powers, fortuitous factors are supplanted by conscious factors introduced into the group by these demortal institutions. Both are endowed with longer life and greater powers than any of the mortal units whom they rule, and the conscious-factors that they introduce into the group soon become paramount, fixing and determining civilization's future. It is then that the question of social vision becomes all important. From the first dry land to the attainment of civilization, the social vision has never risen higher than one dimension or the line. At the beginning there was no social vision at all, and this continues to be true of all the vegetable world. Animals acquire a social vision scarcely more than the point, and this is the highest social vision even of man, until the rise of civilization. A few stirpes acquire a linear social vision, and advance proportionately. But neither the complete absence of social vision as in vegetables; nor the social vision of no dimensions or of one dimension as in animals, savages, and pioneers; interrupts, impedes or reverses the benign and universal rule of mathematical law. All are compatible with freedom, diversity, separate and independent struggles for existence, and the improvement of posterity by the continuous selection of the better out of a multitude of separate efforts. The mortal units, who engage in the strife, are unconscious of the ultimate result of

their efforts, or of the direction which they take, but their upward course is guided and secured by the invisible power of benign mathematical law. So long as their efforts are separate, independent, innumerable and unconscious, their advance is certain, although it seems fortuitous.[1]

309. When civilization introduces the conscious direction of the group toward its future, its hour of hope or peril has come. It has reached this point by the continuous introduction and successive addition of factors other than fecundity. The cumulative effect of these factors through the long ages has insured an augmentation of the nervous organization, and, as the intellect increases, new factors of superior potency are introduced with accelerating speed, so that at civilization's height their number and power surpasses everything in the history of its rise, and fecundity counts for less than ever before. Under the guidance of

[1] "Man, so far as natural science by itself is able to teach us, is no longer the final cause of the universe, the heaven-descended heir of all the ages. His very existence is an accident, his story a brief and transitory episode in the life of one of the meanest of the planets. Of the combination of causes which first converted a dead organic compound into the living progenitors of humanity, science indeed as yet knows nothing. It is enough that from such beginnings famine, disease, and mutual slaughter, fit nurses of the future lords of creation, have gradually evolved after infinite travail, a race with conscience enough to feel that it is vile and intelligence enough to know that it is insignificant. We survey the past and see that its history is of blood and tears, of helpless blundering, of wild revolt, of stupid acquiescence, of empty aspirations. We sound the future and learn that after a period, long compared with the individual life, but short compared with the divisions of time open to our investigation, the energies of our system will decay, the glory of the sun will be dimmed, and the earth, tideless and inert, will no longer tolerate the race which for a moment disturbed its solitude. Man will go down into the pit and all his thoughts will perish. The uneasy consciousness which in this obscure corner has for a long space broken the contented silence of the universe, will be at rest. Matter will know itself no longer. 'Imperishable monuments' and 'immortal deeds,' death itself, and love stronger than death, will be as though they had never been. Nor will anything that is be better or be worse for all that the labour, genius, devotion, and suffering of man have striven through countless

mathematical law this process would continue. Augmented nervous organizations would introduce additional factors, without conscious pause or interruption, and the spiritual stature of posterity would be perpetually maintained, enlarged and strengthened, as it met with new dangers and new temptations giving to spiritual gains new victories, to carnal fecundity worse defeats.

It is then that the civilized nation, which forsakes mathematical law for conscious rule, must consciously choose its future state. If it submits to the fallible guidance of mortal minds, even the best of mortal minds, it will be ruled, as all past civilizations have been ruled, by the social vision of the plane. Prolific mankind, even in the highest civilizations, has never attained a social vision of more than two

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generations to effect." (A. J. Balfour, *The Foundations of Belief*, Part I: Chap. I.)

In respect to the above passage it may be observed:

I. That the progress of mathematical law has not been seriously impeded by the ignorance or blundering of the conscious or unconscious units that have been, throughout the ages, subject to its rule.

II. That the introduction of factors other than fecundity, giving an advantage to augmented nervous organizations, made their creation only a question of time and mathematically certain when sufficient time had elapsed.

III. That the duration of the past has sufficed for a differentiation measured by the difference between an amœba and a Balfour.

IV. It is not impossible that a future of equal duration may create a being which shall surpass a Balfour as much as he now surpasses an amœba.

V. That we are as little able now to measure the future resources of such a being as an amœba is to measure the resources of a Balfour.

VI. That without foreseeing all the future resources of augmented nervous organizations, it is clear that the disaster predicted by Lord Balfour can overtake them only if the energies of our system decline faster than their nervous organizations increase. If the augmentation of their nervous organization outstrips the earth's decay, their resources will be equal to the problems which they will have to meet.

VII. There is no reason to suppose that the earth is the sole seat or beneficiary of mathematical law, nor that, given like factors, it has not accomplished like results elsewhere.

dimensions. Guided by its best and wisest men, but misled by a falsehood, the blind leading the blind, and obsessed by a social vision of two dimensions, as though vexed by an evil spirit, a people inevitably devotes all the powers of the demortal institutions of state and Church, to extinguish all other factors than fecundity for determining the character of its future generations. It abandons a favorable selection of mothers, abolishes private property, or impairs and limits its rights, enforces uniformity, and supplants freedom and spiritual rule by prohibitions, inquisition and carnal punishments. And, as these institutions are stronger and longer lived than mortal units, their efforts are soon crowned with success, factors other than fecundity are reduced or extinguished, the advantages which enabled augmented nervous organizations to increase and survive are abolished, and the unconscious efforts of a multitude of mortals, to which the fortuitous rise of civilization was due, are succeeded by the conscious efforts of demortals which cause its fall. By their superior fecundity lower nervous organizations enjoy a perpetual and sleepless advantage, which increases with the decrease of other and opposing factors, until finally only their posterity remains. The national life is standardized on a plane where only the lowest can live and all the highest must die.

310. The religions of Numa and Jesus furnish a conscious guide against this peril. In principle and practice they were the same; in letters only the gospel of Jesus has survived. That gospel, founded on the true social vision of three dimensions, is a conscious and conspicuous departure from the false social vision of two dimensions, from the impure superstitions of Asiatic religions, and from the human errors, and shortened vision of mortal minds. It gives to mankind a new way of life, a new testament for their salvation. It teaches the continuous production of augmented nervous organizations by religious, indissoluble, monogamous marriage. But it does more than teach mankind how augmented nervous organizations may be brought into the world. It

shows how they may be made immortal, and perpetually survive for the eternal salvation of the group in which they are born. It reverses the political and ecclesiastical conceptions of ancient and decayed civilizations and substitutes for the universal error of temporal minds the eternal verities of divine intelligence. Instead of exalting the temporal and carnal powers of state and Church, so that they can extinguish all factors other than fecundity, it exalts the spiritual authority of God and the spiritual obedience of man—factors which exalt the spiritual stature, shower their highest blessings with greatest abundance on augmented nervous organizations, and point to low nervous organizations the only possible way of present improvement and future salvation. Instead of prohibition and punishment, whereby uniformity is enforced, it substitutes freedom and forgiveness, whereby diversity is certain. By freedom and forgiveness temporal institutions are shorn of their power, which they invariably misuse, prohibitions and punishments are discarded, spiritual authority is exalted as the universal and eternal judge, and there is secured, for the perpetual advantage of augmented nervous organizations, the continuous introduction of new factors, other than fecundity, to exalt the spiritual stature of mankind and insure the eternal survival of the highest spiritual group. It is truly a gospel of salvation for augmented nervous organizations. For lower nervous organizations it is a gospel of mercy, since these suffer most when augmented nervous organizations are extinguished. It is to their advantage that they should improve and contribute their quota of higher nervous organizations when the older strains have perished. The lower nervous organizations themselves are not perfectly fungible, and freedom and forgiveness continuously selects their improving strains for survival, as certainly as prohibition and punishment debases their posterity by multiplying only the most prolific.

311. All fortuitous civilizations which exchange the divine wisdom of mathematical law for the temporal rule of

human majorities or minorities hasten to an Asiatic end. Their decline is as certain as the decline of Israel when it forsook the Lord and demanded a king. And their inevitable fall is due to the change from the linear social vision of pioneer stirpes to the civilized social vision of the plane. Diversity allowed the eternal factor of time to work unconsciously in their favor during all the period of their rise. Uniformity changes time to an adverse factor which multiplies lower nervous organizations and gradually extinguishes the higher. So it is noticeable that when the social vision is reversed every factor that contributed to their rise is likewise reversed. The selection of mothers changes from favorable to unfavorable; the vertebrate structure of families is abolished, and each household becomes a soviet ruled by its women and children; the competition between striving stirpes ceases, and state and Church deal only with mortal units; diversity between these is abolished and uniformity is decreed; the accusatory principle of criminal procedure is abandoned, and spy government is instituted to enforce servile obedience on all; private property loses its independent rights and exists only by license of state and Church; profit and surplus expire and the proletariat loses first the abundance of drink, soon the abundance of food; spiritual stature shrinks, faith declines, spiritual revivals cease, an unseen God is no longer worshipped, and the multitude bows to statues in illiterate, to statutes in literate groups. And all this reversal of all these factors is made sure, speedy, and universal by the prohibitions and punishments of state and Church. Without these, the freedom and forgiveness fortuitously enjoyed during civilization's rise, by pioneers unconscious of their benefits, would continue to bless the group and shower their advantages on its minority of augmented nervous organizations. As long as such a minority existed anywhere; as long as any stirpes however few, or any group however small, continued the favorable selection of mothers, the vertebrate structure of family life, the secured enjoyment of private property, profit and surplus, unques-

tioned and unimpaired, the freedom and diversity which give it spiritual rule and spiritual strength, and the humble obedience to an unseen God, instead of the servile obedience to temporal power, so long would national civilization continue to rise, perpetually carried forward by this minority and made immortal by an eternal succession of such minorities. The rise of stirpes during its pioneer age would be forever duplicated by their continued rise after civilization had been attained. It is a process that is possible only in a nation governed, in accordance with the practice of Numa and the gospel of Jesus, by freedom and forgiveness.

312. This practice and this gospel have attained their highest political expression only in the accusatory system of criminal procedure. The carnal rule of human powers has always been emotional, never intellectual, and no group has ever been sufficiently advanced to abjure prohibitions. But the demortal institutions of state and Church can only impose uniformity upon the group by enforcing prohibitions and inflicting punishment through the means of inquisition and spy government. Abolish these, and although mortals may fall short of the perfect forgiveness taught by Jesus, yet diversity will be preserved, because the group itself will adopt toward minorities the practical admonition of Gamaliel—"Let them alone." Litigious or accusatory criminal procedure seeks redress only for injury, arraigns mortal defendants only at the suit of mortal accusers, cannot enforce obedience to the statutes of other generations, and forever emancipates the living from the dead hand of an ignorant and superstitious past, so that spiritual advancement is not impeded, spiritual rule is not dethroned. Forgiveness is established as the political and ecclesiastical attitude toward sins and trespasses; it is only mortal prosecutors that may be unforgiving. And when the forgiveness of mortal defendants by the demortal institutions of state and Church is assured, their prosecution by unforgiving mortal accusers becomes unimportant, and its nature and effects may be foretold. Mortals will prosecute to redress

injury, not to enforce obedience; usually for the crimes or trespasses whereby the mortal prosecutor has been injured, seldom for the sins or vices whereby the sinner is injured first and most. The great sphere of temptation, in human activities, is hardly touched by visible rule or carnal punishments when temporal powers are invoked by mortals. Old temptations will remain, new ones will be found, new dangers ever encompassing the spiritually weak. But the inferiority of temporal prosecutions and corporeal punishment, the overwhelming superiority of spiritual strength, spiritual stature, and spiritual purity as defenses to temptation will be seen by all and impressed upon each successive generation. The contrast between temporal and eternal remedies is never feared, but sustains and exalts the spirit; and while political and ecclesiastical institutions forgive sinners, mortals of higher nervous organization walk unscathed among temptations and dangers that perpetually torment lower nervous organizations as if by an eternal fire. Simply by adopting the gospel of Jesus as a canon of government and establishing forgiveness as a religious creed, a nation may secure for its higher nervous organizations perpetual advantages offsetting and more than offsetting the superior numbers and greater fecundity of lower nervous organizations. The nation that follows the gospel of Jesus will be forever exalted.

313. Two propositions are equally certain. First, that political and ecclesiastical forgiveness of sinners is scientifically correct and is mathematically certain to give to higher nervous organizations the advantages necessary to preserve for them an enduring civilization. Second, that it can be understood only by intellects higher than even the most civilized of mankind have ever attained in the past, perhaps higher than prolific mankind may hope to attain in the future. The correctness of the first proposition has been often tried and always proved. It has been tried generally by all pioneer groups where civilization has risen; since the political and ecclesiastical institutions of pioneers in a new

land do not yet possess the powers of inquisition and espionage necessary to punish sinners, the normal criminal procedure is always accusatory, and mortal defendants are prosecuted by mortal accusers only for the redress of injuries. Specifically it may be seen in Israel in the Book of Judges when there was no king in Israel and every man did that which was right in his own eyes; again in the Homeric Greeks and in the rise of Attic civilization to the age of Pericles; again in Rome from the foundation of the Republic to the fall of Carthage; in imperial Rome from the accession of Trajan to the reign of Diocletian; among the earliest Christians from the crucifixion of Jesus to the Council of Nicæa; among the Franks from the invasion of Gaul to the reign of Charlemagne; and among all the German tribes beyond the Roman frontier from the earliest observations of them by Cæsar and Tacitus, to their conversion to Christianity, and the institution of inquisitorial procedure and espionage by the Holy Office and the ecclesiastical courts. All these were pioneer groups and rising civilizations; and in each the freedom and forgiveness of the pioneer age may be contrasted with the system of prosecutions and punishments adopted by the same groups after the attainment of their rise and at the beginning of their fall. Specifically in Israel, the inquisition under Josiah; in Athens, the prosecution and punishment of Socrates; in the expiring Republic of Rome, the proscriptions of Sulla; in the expiring patriciate, the espionage of Caligula and Nero; in the expiring pagan empire, the inquisitorial criminal procedure and Asiatic political structure begun by Diocletian and perfected by Constantine; in the post-Nicene Church, the edict against heretics, and the institution of Inquisitors of the Faith by Theodosius; among the converted Franks, the bishop's courts and priestly rule which followed the ecclesiastical policy of Charlemagne; and among the converted German tribes, the inquisition and espionage of the ecclesiastical courts before they were abolished by the Reformation.

314. Three times the political and ecclesiastical forgiveness of sinners extended far beyond the age of pioneers and has been the practice of groups which have attained a considerable degree of civilization. After the destruction of the temple (A.D. 70), but still more noticeably after the triumph of Christianity and the separation of the Roman empire into Christian states, it was tested for many centuries by the Jewish group. The test was entirely fortuitous and they forgave sinners because they had no political or ecclesiastical institutions empowered to tax, scourge or punish them. Blessed with political impotence they were unable to make new prohibitions or to enforce, by carnal punishments, obedience to the old. Under this severe but fortuitous test the light of Jewish civilization burned steadily throughout the dark ages when all the Christian groups, whose powerful Church refused to forgive Christian sinners, sunk into ignorance, idolatry and impotence.

A second test of freedom and forgiveness on an advanced civilization is found in the history of Rome. Excepting a generation of proscriptions and massacres during the civil wars which ended the Republic, and another generation of imperial inquisition and espionage in the first century A.D., there was for about a thousand years of Roman history under kingdom, republic and empire, from the reign of Numa nearly to the reign of Diocletian, a fairly continuous example of the spiritual blessings of political and ecclesiastical forgiveness of sinners. The earlier centuries of this long period were an age of expansion and continuous pioneering, and provinces were added to the empire and settled by pioneers as late as the reign of Trajan. But from Augustus to Commodus, a period of more than two centuries, a high civilization enjoyed the general blessings of political and ecclesiastical forgiveness of sinners, accusatory criminal procedure, no inquisition, no spies, no public prosecutors, no imperial police, and no ecclesiastical courts, inflicting civil penalties or disabilities upon the laity. Slavery, the universal defect of ancient civilizations, forbade freedom and

diversity to much the greater part of the population. But all those who were not slaves were really free. No demortal institution of state or Church exercised any inquisition into their bed and board, or daily lives, pursued them with prohibitions, harassed them with spies, persecuted them for their sins, or punished them for their vices. By temporal powers all sinners were forgiven.

The result mathematically expected was the continuous maintenance of civilization until this practice was reversed. One after another the several groups that augmented their nervous organizations successfully opposed spiritual strength and spiritual defense to temptation, and successively rose to power. The last of these groups was the Christians. Other than spiritual defenses they had none, and their spiritual stature increased as their need was greater. All their gains they dashed to the ground when they had seized the empire. For the first time since the crucifixion, Christian sinners were not forgiven—but were punished by temporal power for their sins. The spiritual stature of the post-Nicene Church under political and ecclesiastical prohibitions and punishments declined faster than it had risen in the ante-Nicene Church under freedom and forgiveness.

315. The latest successful test on a large scale of the Christian gospel of freedom and forgiveness has been in Christian Europe since the Reformation. It began when the various states of western Europe were considerably but not equally advanced in civilization, and it has been adopted and applied by these various states at different times and in different degrees. During a period of more than three centuries, historians may observe the contrasting effects on neighboring nations and kindred people of the political and ecclesiastical forgiveness of sins as taught by the Messiah, and of the opposite or Asiatic practice of prohibitions and punishments enforced by inquisition and spies. In this extensive and civilized region and during this long period of time, the spiritual improvement which follows the national practice of freedom and forgiveness has been often displayed,

the spiritual debasement and national decline which accompany prohibitions enforced by political and ecclesiastical inquisitions, have been often witnessed. The Christian doctrine has always been victorious and splendid trophies have graced its triumph.

Freedom and forgiveness began in the states of the reformed communion, which abolished a vast number of the prohibitions and inquisitions of the mediæval Church; including the confessional, which armed mortal priests with a right to inquire into mortal lives, and, by granting or withholding absolution, to terrorize or punish everyone who departed from the Church's minutest prohibitions. The abolition of ecclesiastical courts with their inquisition into heresy and mortal sin, gradually followed. The whole costly and debasing system of spies and inquisition for punishing disobedience to political and ecclesiastical prohibitions was ended in Holland before the seventeenth, in England before the eighteenth century, in Germany not till the end of that century. Their spiritual improvement followed in the same chronological order. Political and ecclesiastical freedom and forgiveness augmented the spiritual stature, increased the wealth and power, and raised the civilization of every Protestant state.

316. In those countries which clung to the mediæval system of inquisition and espionage its effects were equally apparent. Most of them had attained a higher civilization than rival Protestant states; but while their state and Church continued to enforce, by spies and inquisition, political and ecclesiastical prohibitions and punishments they sunk in wealth, in power and in spiritual stature as Protestant countries rose. The inquisition most celebrated for its severity and effectiveness was the Spanish Inquisition. Its power endured in Spain when the milder inquisitions of other countries, even of other Catholic countries, had long been abolished; and it was extended to the Spanish conquests and colonies of the New World. Even to the middle of the nineteenth century the confessional and the inquisition still

directed the morals, diet, and conscience of Spaniards, inspected their books and learning, ruled their public amusements, terrorized their private lives, and punished every departure from the prohibitions of state and Church. In the shadow of this unholy institution freedom of conscience disappeared, uniformity was imposed upon all of Spain, no Jew, infidel or heretic was tolerated or suffered, and a highly civilized and able people, once the leading nation of Christendom, sunk from wealth and power and pride to poverty, impotence and abasement.

In Italy the inquisition at the height of its power was not less crushing than in Spain, but it was abandoned earlier. While it continued powerful, respected, and unimpaired, the country which had been the cradle of the Renaissance sunk like Spain to ignorance, impotence, almost to despair, the victim of a succession of alien conquerors. It was after the invasions and conquests of Napoleon that political and ecclesiastical prohibitions and punishments, enforced by spies and inquisitions, at last came to an end. The temporal power of the Church was curbed, some of her prohibitions relaxed, none of them enforced with the old vigor or the old means. With political and ecclesiastical freedom and forgiveness, the Italian spirit rose again from the dead, and Italian soil, once the home of a great civilization, erected on the freedom and forgiveness taught by Numa, again surpassed its ancient achievements when it adopted the same gospel from the new testament of Jesus.

317. In France political and ecclesiastical prohibitions were fewer and less regarded and the inquisition of ecclesiastical courts into the private lives and mortal sins of the laity was far less minute and effective than in Spain or Italy. The invading Franks had brought their freedom with their name and to the time of Charlemagne had successfully resisted ecclesiastical oppression and priestly inquisition. In the ninth century the Church augmented its powers, and the national impotence which always afflicts a priest-ridden people is marked in French history by the alien invasions

and conquests, first of the Normans, who seized and retained a province, afterward of the English who marched their troops over a great part of France. But the fact that the Church in France never gained the same acknowledged and uninterrupted powers of inquisition into the private lives of the French laity that it enjoyed for some centuries in Spain and Italy, is well attested, and the following reasons may be suggested.

I. The innate love of the Franks for freedom. Although freedom itself was often attacked and impaired, the love of it was never lost.

II. The Hundred Years' War, which resulted in destroying great numbers of religious houses, reduced the wealth and power of the clergy, and correspondingly increased the importance of king, nobles and the military power of the state.

III. The enormous number of independent, or *quasi*-independent, fiefs and seigniories. France was all feudal, and on a great part of French soil the feudal lord claimed and exercised the immediate jurisdiction over all his vassals. In a country so divided into fiefs a uniform system of ecclesiastical espionage could not be established or maintained.

IV. The provincial customs and provincial Parliaments. These two prevented uniform surrender to ecclesiastical espionage.

V. The great schism between the Pope at Rome and the Pope at Avignon.

VI. The Reformation. A great part of France was Protestant and in the Civil Wars the Protestant power was strong enough to extort important concessions from those who required its aid.

VII. The Edict of Nantes. For nearly a century (1598–1685) this Act of Toleration defended the protestant minority against the oppression of the dominant Church.

VIII. The power of the great nobles. The long struggle of the French kings for supremacy over their own greater vassals was continuously unfavorable to the uniform as-

cendancy of the sacerdotal and favorable to the ascendancy of the military power.

Until the reign of Louis XIV all these causes had operated to check on French soil the uniform and regular inquisition and espionage of the ecclesiastical power; and the separate jurisdiction of provincial Parliaments and great seigniories over their own local customs and the inhabitants of their own provinces or lands continued to operate until the French Revolution. All catholic France acknowledged the authority and offices of the established Roman Church. But, for the reasons given, uniform obedience to political and ecclesiastical prohibitions, systematically and continuously enforced by spies and inquisition, was never regularly established throughout France. There was a vast amount of oppression both by Church and nobles; but it was selfish rather than virtuous. They rigorously exacted the feudal dues and the Church tithes, but they did little to punish sin or suppress vice. Political and ecclesiastical freedom and forgiveness for the sins of pride, avarice, gluttony, lust, sloth, envy, anger, and for disobedience to the prohibitions of Church and state went further in France than in any other catholic land.

The characteristic freedom of the French people in the daily conduct of their daily lives has been preserved to the present day. Other countries have been freer from inquisition and espionage, but no other country has had fewer prohibitions. Its police is a long established, and claimed to be a necessary, institution. But universal obedience to a uniform standard of private morality, set up by the prohibitions of Church or state, and enforced by inquisition and spies, has never existed throughout France. The Code Napoleon abolished the ancient local jurisdictions, unified and centralized the political and judicial administration, and brought all France under the single rule of the government at Paris. But the Code Napoleon was the enactment of an enlightened intellect, not of an emotional assembly, and is nearly free from that multitude of mischievous prohibitions, affecting

men's bed and board and private lives, that are annually added to the statute book by the popular assemblies of democracies. It grants freedom and diversity to mortals, families and stirpes, recognizes the vertebrate structure of the family organization, the authority of the family over its members, the strife of separate stirpes, the favorable selection of mothers, the security of private property, the independence of thought and expression, and the freedom of conscience. It not only abolished a multitude of vexatious inquisitions, but it abolished the pretext for them. The spirit of this enlightened code has not been lost, nor even greatly impaired, by subsequent legislation. Freedom and forgiveness of sins, as a national creed, has existed in France longer than in any other Catholic country, still marks her political and ecclesiastical institutions, enlarges the sphere of her expanding genius, and preserves and upholds for the world's example and emulation her enduring civilization.

318. In England the accusatory principle of criminal procedure was the ancient practice of the common law; and was never changed by the introduction of the system of criminal jurisprudence of the Justinian code. In the ordinary and usual procedure of the courts of common law, a prosecution for crime was an action brought in the name of the crown by a mortal prosecutor against a mortal defendant to redress an injury or punish a crime—not to enforce prohibitions or punish disobedience. Substantive law simply defined what was actionable. There were no paid spies or inquisitors, acting on the initiative of the crown itself, to enforce universal obedience to its various prohibitions. The state adopted the Christian gospel of freedom and forgiveness for offenders; only mortals instituted prosecutions and demanded punishment.

Under this system of adjective law, the freedom of mortal subjects was continuously secured notwithstanding the multitude of written prohibitions centennially added to England's substantive law. From the thirteenth to the nineteenth century the freedom of English subjects was

impaired only to the extent that it was attacked by other tribunals than those of the common law, and was restored as often as these tribunals were curbed and the common law courts resumed their sway. Partly because of her insular position, and partly because the accustomed criminal procedure of the common law was always accusatory, Englishmen were never afflicted with the uniform inquisition of both state and Church that sometimes existed in continental Europe. But for two centuries, beginning in the fifteenth and not ending until the seventeenth, the kingdom was harassed by a system of espionage and inquisition, set up by ecclesiastical courts, first of the Roman, afterward of the Anglican communion. During this period and by these courts, Englishmen suffered a tyranny not, indeed, comparable to the worst excesses of the continent, but worse than was ever known in England before or since. Their spies might be found in every household and parish and conventicle; their inquisition extended to men's thoughts, opinions, speech and gestures as well as to their bed and board and private lives. They sought, like all inquisitions, to enforce universal obedience to all prohibitions by punishing disobedience as sin. They were founded on the repudiation of the Christian doctrine of freedom and forgiveness, and they inaugurated, and so long as they lasted they preserved, under the false pretense of Christian morality, the anti-Christian doctrine of prohibitions and punishments.

Two centuries of espionage and inquisition for the exaltation of virtue brought England to the moral debasement of the reign of Charles II. In that generation all these courts were abolished, the courts of common law restored to their ancient jurisdiction and their accustomed accusatory criminal procedure, and in the last quarter of the seventeenth century espionage and inquisition came to an end. Political and ecclesiastical freedom and forgiveness became established English institutions, and prosecutions and punishments by state and Church were abandoned. Every Englishman did that which was right in his own eyes. For

more than a century substantive law was little altered in favor of freedom, but the liberties of the subject were preserved by the absence of state and ecclesiastical spies, inquisitors and prosecutors. The change from espionage and inquisition to political and ecclesiastical freedom and forgiveness augmented the spiritual stature of each succeeding generation, and as the anti-Christian procedure of prohibitions and punishments had resulted in the moral debasement of the Restoration, so the Christian gospel of freedom and forgiveness advanced England to the moral and spiritual exaltation of the Victorian age. The chronology of both sets of factors was about the same. One hundred and fifty years of espionage and inquisition had preceded the reign of Charles II; one hundred and fifty years of accusatory criminal procedure preceded the reign of Victoria.

319. Thus the results expected from the Christian gospel of freedom and forgiveness are fully confirmed by the evidence of modern history. In Asia where the Christian gospel had never been preached and the theory and practice of freedom and forgiveness were alike unknown, spiritual stature remained unchanged, and civilization had no revival. In the Christian empire of the East, ruled from Constantinople, where the Christian gospel had been repudiated and changed for the ecclesiastical spies and inquisitorial procedure of Josiah, spiritual stature likewise remained unchanged and Christian surrendered to Moslem rule. In Western Europe, among the later converts to the gospel, where the Asiatic tradition of prohibitions and punishments was unknown, civilization gradually rose. In those states of western Christendom where prohibitions and punishments were multiplied and made most effective by political and ecclesiastical spies and inquisitors, the rise of civilization was arrested, and generations of espionage and inquisition were followed by moral debasement and spiritual decline. In those states where freedom and forgiveness were first adopted and longest continued, the spiritual advancement of each generation was most marked and civilization

attained its greatest heights. Prohibition and punishments, enforced by political and ecclesiastical espionage and inquisition, lingered in Catholic states a century after they had been generally abandoned by Protestants, and in this country the advance of Protestant over Catholic states was most marked. They continued as an effective part of the political and ecclesiastical government of Spain longer than in any other Catholic country; and national decay was more serious and more prolonged in Spain than elsewhere. They afflicted France less than any other Catholic country and at a later date; and civilization and spiritual stature rose higher in France than in other Catholic lands.

320. But the most illuminating comparison is between France and England. From the Edict of Nantes (1598) to its revocation in 1685, France enjoyed the benefits of political and ecclesiastical freedom and forgiveness. No body of paid spies and inquisitors was regularly and continuously employed during this period, to suppress diversity, enforce prohibitions or inflict punishments. During the same period in England, dissenters, separatists, nonconformists, quakers, were everywhere spied upon, harried, prosecuted and punished—not with the same ferocity as by the Spanish Inquisition, but with a severity that drove many of them to take refuge in Holland or America, and enforced a nominal and apparent conformity upon those that remained. Ecclesiastical courts were everywhere active in the punishment of sin, and spies and inquisitors were everywhere multiplied for the discovery of sinners.

In 1685 the position of the two countries was reversed. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes changed the political and ecclesiastical government of France from the practice of freedom and forgiveness to prohibitions and punishment. The Act of Toleration (1689) changed the policy of the English state and Church from uniformity to diversity, and espionage and inquisition were abolished. The minority who were not of the established Church had to flee from France, but they could remain in England.

From the same decade which marks the reversal of the policy and practice of these two countries on the Christian gospel of freedom and forgiveness, history records a sharp reversal in their respective fortunes. Their civilization had risen to the point where both countries were centrifugal, both had bold navigators, explorers, soldiers, colonists, both had made conquests abroad, and both were competing actively in the foundation of a colonial empire. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Canada was securely in the possession of the French, they were entrenched in India, and they had penetrated the whole of the Mississippi valley from its source to its mouth, including its principal tributaries. One hundred years later the English were as securely in possession of Canada and India, and all of Louisiana had passed from the French to an English speaking people. An empire which Frenchmen had gained during the century that France was a freer country than England, was lost to France during the next century when England was a freer country than France.

321. The test afforded by the various states of western Europe during three centuries is of peculiar value. It is near in point of time, and it was applied to generations that were the immediate forbears of the living generation of today, called by the same name, professing the same religion, and living on the same soil, under the same sky and in the same countries as their descendants do now. They shared the common advantages of an equal knowledge of the ancient learning of the past, revived, preserved and diffused by the art of printing. They shared alike the common use of an alphabet in which the ancient tongue could be understood and translated into their modern speech, of the discovery of the Arabic system of numerals and the sciences of arithmetic and algebra, as well as of the inventions of gunpowder and printing. They shared in common and almost equally all the factors necessary for civilization's rise, and its progress in the states of western Christendom was at the beginning of this period nearly equal. At the beginning of the sixteenth

century no sharp distinction could be drawn between the western Christian states, such as had divided them from the older Christian peoples of the Eastern and Abyssinian Church. In the west feudalism, slavery and serfdom declined naturally and together after gunpowder, coming into common military use, had disarmed the mailed and mounted knight, and dismantled the feudal stronghold. The Catholic Church had declared marriage to be a sacrament and the modern and western doctrine of "holy" matrimony was adopted alike by all western Christian states. In Protestant communities, convents and religious houses were suppressed, while in the Catholic states new religious orders were forbidden and the ancient foundations, by commonly exacting a sum of money for entrance, had ceased to exercise a commanding influence for the adverse selection of mothers by the religious sterilization of all the pious and chaste. Accordingly, in all the western Christian states the selection of mothers was fairly standardized and varied but little, not only between different states in the same century, but between different centuries in the same state. Marriage was ceremonial, religious, monogamous and indissoluble, and, among the rich, was universally accompanied by settlements which transferred and established the ownership of property or lands, and conferred indefeasible rights of heirship upon the children of the union. Besides a favorable selection of mothers, there was the general enjoyment of private property held in severalty instead of in common; the general right to trade, barter, lend money at interest and dispose of property by wills; there was a general circulation of money and goods through the channels of commerce, which were generally open to all; and there was a general diffusion of wine and drink among all who could afford to buy it. These are the factors necessary to a rising civilization and all these factors were so nearly alike in the various states of western Christendom that no striking or overwhelming differences could be found between them. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was impossible to

affirm that any of them were barbarous, or that the civilization of any one of them was far behind or far in advance of the others.

The equality of these other factors makes more effective the one unequal factor. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century it is evident that freedom was the unequal factor in all these states. The government of state and Church determined whether the nation should hold and increase its gains, or whether it should go backward and find itself in the nineteenth century worse off than in the sixteenth. Wherever the Christian doctrine of freedom and forgiveness was adopted by state and Church as a national policy, there was a continuous advance. Civilization rose higher, each generation was somewhat better than its predecessors, and the country was richer, stronger and greater in the nineteenth century than in the sixteenth. Wherever the opposite or Asiatic doctrine of prohibitions and punishments was adopted by state and Church, and enforced by paid or priestly spies and inquisitors, civilization declined, the nervous organization of posterity was lowered with each succeeding generation, and the country found itself in the nineteenth century spiritually and materially poorer than it had been in the sixteenth.

322. It is evident that the Christian doctrine of freedom and forgiveness has never found intellectual acceptance even in the most civilized of Christian states and has not been consciously adopted as a certain means of national salvation. Its benefits are not understood by low nervous organizations and would not appeal to them perhaps even if they were understood, because low nervous organizations being numerous and prolific would expect the greatest advantages from the adoption of numerical standards. A visible and carnal uniformity, enforced by prohibitions and punishments, assures the triumph of their superior fecundity. All of their number who become lettered or even voluble, invariably acclaim the advantages of a government which employs visible and temporal power to enforce the equal obedience

of all to uniform standards adopted and fixed by numerical majorities. They are instinctively opposed to diversity, which they hate and fear as a certain advantage to higher nervous organizations, and, as freedom means diversity, they have the same hatred and fear of freedom. A mass of low nervous organizations grows further away from freedom with each succeeding generation. For, when once they have begun to adopt numerical standards and enforce uniformity, they extinguish one after another all factors other than fecundity for determining the character of future generations of their own descendants. The result is a continuous decline in the nervous organization of a posterity which is always born to the most prolific women, those who bear children with smaller heads. The effect of this decline is to make the masses servile, so that they fear and respect only the visible rule of earthly powers, and love their prohibitions and punishments.

The intellectual approval of the Christian doctrine of freedom and forgiveness is forbidden also to the group of higher nervous organizations to whom it might be expected to make its chief appeal. They reject it because they have a social vision of only two dimensions, and its benefits are not discernible in the social plane of convivious mortals which is all that they see. Augmented nervous organizations are not fungible, and the more they are augmented, the greater the differences between them become, and the higher their civilization will rise. Accordingly, when a high civilization is at last attained, the diversity between mortals seems prodigious and out of all reason. It alarms and distracts all whose social vision is of only two dimensions, who forget that they see only the mortal diversity of mortal men, soon to disappear from the scene and be succeeded by another social plane. They seek the equal good and equal happiness of their own contemporaries, the convivious mortals in their own social plane, forgetting that after their death their country will be peopled with their descendants, and that the character of these will be modified by the greater fecundity

of the lower nervous organizations. Their efforts to improve mankind are limited to the mankind whom they see—those present and voting. They love power and their superior mentality gives them an influence with government disproportionate to their numbers. Government operates on their own social plane and affords a scope for the exercise of their powers. Government, therefore, appeals to their vanity as well as to their shortened social vision, and they seek to accomplish by government the reforms which they urge; forgetting that legislation does not spend its effect entirely upon their contemporaries, but profoundly modifies the future social planes. So that they cherish as an ideal, even acclaim it as a Christian ideal, a government which abolishes the visible inequalities of the present, leaving unchanged the one invisible and unequal factor of fecundity, to modify and degrade the nervous organization of posterity.

323. Thus popular or democratic governments, responsive to the votes of the largest group of lowest nervous organizations, are invariably anti-Christian, hostile to the Christian gospel of freedom and forgiveness which would permit diversity, and friendly to the Asiatic practice of prohibitions and punishments which will enforce uniformity. It is only when a vertebrate political organization entrusts governmental powers to a minority of higher nervous organization that political and ecclesiastical freedom and forgiveness become the national policy, and maintain for some generations the continuous improvement of succeeding social planes, raising and perpetuating the national civilization. Even in the rare examples which history affords of governments of this character, it is impossible to find conscious intellectual adoption and approval of the Christian gospel as a certain and indispensable means of national salvation. The best example of such government in modern times was the aristocratic rule of England from the revolution of 1688 to the death of Victoria, spanning the two centuries of English civilization's glorious rise and of England's world-wide renown and power. But it is certain that it met with

little or no intellectual approval even in England itself, that all the most prolific of the English scribes railed at and denounced it, and that it has been discarded in favor of an anti-Christian government of prohibitions and punishments founded on numerical standards, at the very pinnacle of England's greatness when the supreme advantages of freedom and forgiveness by state and Church were manifest to all.

With an historical example so recent, well-known and widely advertised, of the intellectual rejection of Christian government by a people that it had exalted for two centuries, it is evident that it was preserved so long by mental processes other than intellect. In fact, it owed its existence to emotion; specifically to the love of freedom. The revolution of 1688 had conferred the powers of government upon a small group of augmented nervous organizations. In this group the favorable selection of mothers was universal; in the nation at large it extended throughout the various classes of society, gradually and eventually even to the poorest wage earners; and as the older and failing stirpes of the smaller group of augmented nervous organizations disappeared, their place was perpetually supplied by new strains rising from below. The consequence was a government which for two centuries was vested in a minority of augmented nervous organizations, descended from a favorable selection of mothers, and continuously maintained, and even augmented, by new recruits, born to an equally favorable selection, from other classes of society. To such a group freedom is an absolute necessity, the very breath of life, without which they must die. Regardless of their intellectual attainments (which will be high compared to the intellects of more prolific groups; low compared to the intellects of single beings like Numa and Jesus), the love of freedom will be a paramount emotion in such a group, guiding their activities and influencing their thoughts, when intellect fails them. Freedom and forgiveness were preserved so long in the political and ecclesiastical institutions

of England, because a small but dominant minority of augmented nervous organizations, descended from a favorable selection of mothers, loved freedom for its own sake; not because they had a social vision of three dimensions or the intellectual power to understand and secure for their posterity the perpetual benefits of the freedom which they cherished.

324. It is found, then, that the Christian gospel of freedom and forgiveness, adopted by state and Church as a national policy, is indispensable to national salvation and to the perpetuation of national civilization; that it cannot expect the intellectual acceptance of mankind, that it is in fact rejected not only by the more numerous and prolific groups of lower nervous organizations, but even by the smaller and less prolific groups of higher nervous organizations; that it appeals only to the emotions of those who love freedom for its own sake, and, as these are a small and unprolific minority, that it cannot be expected that their love for freedom will continue very long to perpetuate its benefits. Nothing remains to uphold a Christian state but the faith in Christ. His intellect transcended that of mortal men; He had a social vision of three dimensions and He understood and taught that freedom and forgiveness, instead of prohibitions and punishments, would truly save mankind. Mortals, following mortal leadership, will surely be led into mortal error, will abandon the benefits of diversity, secured by freedom, and stumble into the pit-fall of uniformity, secured by prohibitions. Nothing but faith in the Christian gospel can save them. All the aspect of their own social plane, which is all that they see, all the visible evils by which they seem to be surrounded, all the temporal powers of Church and state which they have created, all these tempt them to confront and resist evil by temporal and visible means, to abandon freedom and forgiveness, the gospel of Jesus, and to adopt prohibitions and punishments, the menace of Asia, for the salvation of mankind. No group has the intellectual power to resist this

temptation, and no group can long preserve the love of freedom as a paramount consideration ruling the activities of state and Church. Mankind, dependent upon its own intellectual or emotional guidance, or upon Asiatic religions, must ever descend to Asiatic forms of government, Asiatic standards of civilization. It is the glory and the hope of Christendom that its crucified Founder has pointed out another way. The nation that actually believes in the gospel of Jesus, that actually practices that gospel, that actually establishes freedom and forgiveness by state and Church as a national creed, that abjures all prohibitions, prosecutions, and punishments, as a means of national salvation, placing its faith and trust in the eternal power of invisible and benign mathematical law to improve each succeeding generation as the national future unrolls through succeeding social planes, will secure a lasting civilization and an eternal national salvation. It requires an abiding faith, a reverent humility, a spiritual exaltation that will endure sacrifice and bear a present cross for the sake of a future immortality. Men must yield obedience to a higher power, rely upon a greater intellect than their own.

325. Conscious civilization, then, can be raised and perpetuated by any group that chooses to follow the gospel of Jesus. It is a sure guide to the benefits of mathematical law, and its promise is universal. It is bound by no limitations of race or color or country or time. The nation that believes and follows it will become a Christian state, guided by the Christian gospel as Jesus preached it, not by numerical majorities of its own lower nervous organizations, and by that gospel it will be saved. The nervous organization of each succeeding generation of posterity will be augmented by Christian marriage, securing a favorable selection of mothers. The minority of augmented nervous organizations will not be stamped out by an enforced uniformity, which they cannot endure, but will be forever tolerated by freedom and forgiveness, and their numbers forever recruited by new strains rising from below. The conditions of national life

which make civilization possible will be continued and preserved after it has been attained. Faith in the gospel of Jesus will save men from the fatal error of reversing at the apex of civilization all the factors whereby it rose. Their meaner intelligence, incapable of the social vision of three dimensions will be safely guided by His greater intelligence, and their national future will be saved. All groups are ruled forever and ever by mathematical law, and a nation that obeys the gospel of Jesus will find mathematical law always in its favor, always working for its improvement and safeguarding its future. Mathematical law does not change. As it was in the beginning, it is now, and ever shall be, world without end.

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